NATIONAL **15 cents**
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 10. NO. 19 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 24, 1958

FCC inquiry scandal rocks capital; Ike's mess rivals Harry's

By Elmer Bendiner

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in pledging himself to clean up the "mess" of minks and refrigerators left by his predecessor, had promised to appoint to office only those "as clean as a hound's tooth." The question last week was: how clean do Washington hounds keep their teeth?

From disclosures last week it seemed that Federal Commissioners, Congressmen of both parties, and the White House itself, were involved in a brisk business of selling favors to television companies, newspapers and airlines. To capital politicians the bigger scandal was that a professor hired as counsel to an investigating subcommittee had violated all the rules by actually investigating corruption even among the congressional investigators.

The House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight was set up last year to investigate the Federal regulatory commissions and, from the start, seemed to aim at committing the most colossal oversights in history. The subcommittee's targets were to be commissions such as the Federal Communications Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Power Commission.

BIG PLUMS: These Commissions determine to a great extent the rates consumers pay for utilities, and for travel by plane or train. They determine which TV channels are allotted to whom and for what type of programming. They decide which airline gets the franchise on a given route and how much is to be charged. The plums they hand out to big companies are worth millions of dollars.

When the Subcommittee on Oversight was set up to look into the commissions it was assumed it would be "safe'" and superficial. A Congressman who declined to be identified recalled to the Washington **Post** last week that when he and his colleagues voted a $250,000 appropriation to the committee in March, 1957, they were assured that Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.) would not have a hand in it. If Harris were involved, said the unnamed Congressman, it was assumed that the appropriation would "just go down the drain as a whitewash."

Harris is chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, parent body of the subcommittee. Shortly after he took that post early in 1957 he acquired, for a pittance, a fourth interest in an impoverished Arkansas TV station which shortly thereafter won an FCC ruling that allowed it to assume a sudden importance as a station in the National Broadcasting Co. network. It was also granted extraordinary credit from the Radio Corp. of America which owns NBC. His wide-ranging interests in TV and utilities has earned for Harris

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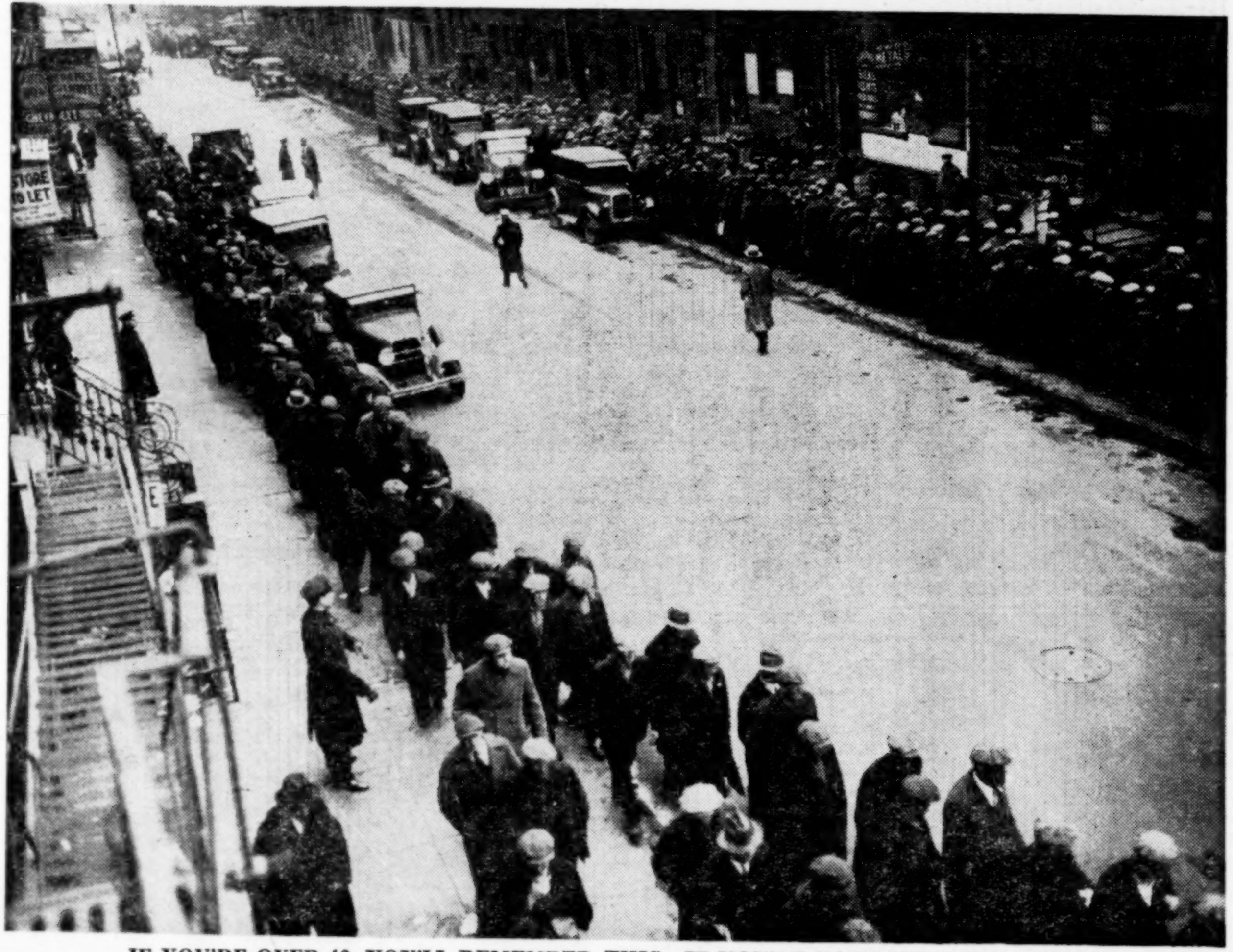

IF YOU'RE OVER 40, YOU'LL REMEMBER THIS—IF YOU'RE YOUNGER, LOOK HARD

The photo above shows breadlines in New York in the Great Depression. Last week, according to the AFL-CIO, close to 6,000,000 Americans were out of work. One in six in Detroit were jobless; emergency food trucks were coming into Biddeford and Saco, Me., where one in three were out of work. It will take more than playing postoffice (Ike's solution) to solve America's economic dilemma. For a starter of what can be done, see p. 4.

EVEN DULLES GIVES A LITTLE

East-West meeting held closer

THERE WERE strong indications last week that the reluctant West was being pushed closer to a top-level meeting with the East by almost irresistible world-wide public pressure, despite the hesitant tone of President Eisenhower's latest reply to Premier Bulganin.

At his Feb. 11 press conference Secy. of State Dulles acknowledged this pressure by declaring that a preliminary foreign ministers' conference—hitherto a major U.S. demand—"isn't essential." He added: "We have no preconceived idea how the preparatory work should be done."

On Feb. 17 President Eisenhower wrote to Premier Bulganin, stoutly defending Dulles' right to participate in the preliminary talks. He asked the Soviet leader to stop writing letters and arrange a summit meeting agenda through normal diplomatic channels. The letter's irritated tone indicated that a smarting Washington was trying to pin on Moscow criticism that had been directed toward the U. S.

WHAT MEETING COULD DO: Although the outlook for a heads-of-government meeting seemed hopeful last week, there were still two major obstacles: (1) the agenda; (2) the countries to be represented.

The Administration still seemed committed to its "first step" nine-point agenda, including German reunification under Western terms and an elaborate disarmament program with a minute inspection system. As Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) said in his significant Feb. 4 speech in the Senate, if this were

(Continued on Page 8)

ALGERIA IS NOW AN INTERNATIONAL CONCERN

The Sakiet raid and the shame of France

By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

ON MONDAY Feb. 10, two days after the Sakiet bombing, Tunisian Ambassador Masmoudi, leaving Paris to return to his country, found waiting for him outside the Tunisian Embassy a crowd which included Deputies Mendès-France, Daniel Mayer (Socialist Party minority group) and Fernand Grenier (CP), journalists Servan Schreiber (**Express**), Claude Bourdet (**France Observateur**) and Pierre Courtade (**Humanitè**), and many more. They had come to express their friendship for Tunisia and their mourning.

"Franco pretended there was no Guernica! **They** don't even pretend," said progressive Catholic novelist Francois Mauriac.

That same day the first statements from prominent political figures showed that even many right-wing leaders—whether out of moral considerations or political expediency—refused to condone the Sakiet raid.

Moderate leader Paul Reynaud thought the military advantages were far outweighed by "the enormous political setbacks" of the bombing. "Dissident" Radical Deputy Edgar Faure felt the action had been undertaken "in the most deplorable conditions." Gen. De Gaulle himself, the last public figure Ambassador Masmoudi called on before leaving France, expressed disapproval. And one deputy of Defense Minister Chaban-Delmas' own (ex-Gaullist) Social Republican Party asked the Minister outright to resign from his post and make way for De Gaulle.

MENDES-FRANCE SPEAKS: On Feb. 11, during the House debate on Sakiet,

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THE MAIL BAG

A near miss

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In your issue of Feb. 10 I greatly enjoyed the column on passports, "Watch the birdie!" by passport applicant 1234567, the charming chimpanzee.

The furry author expressed the opinion that the FBI may have thought that his parlor imitation of actress Corliss Archer was somehow associated with myself. This is not far-fetched. On the very day the GUARDIAN column appeared I received an official note from the U. S. Dept. of State—concerning the Open Letters which my wife and I sent to President Eisenhower and Premier Bulganin—with the envelope adressed to Miss Corliss Lamont and the salutation "Dear Miss Lamont." Of course the State Dept. relies heavily on the FBI files.

Let's all hope that Miss Archer does not lose her passport.

Corliss Lamont

All kinds of fruit

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

The Feb. 10 issue evokes one cheer, one razzberry.

The cheer, for passport applicant No. 1234567. If his travels ever bring him to these parts, we'll welcome him with a big spread of California's fattest bananas.

The razzberry, for whoever fumbled Andrew Marvell's couplet:

The grave's a fine and private
place,
But none, I think, do there
embrace.

Jean Montgomery

We stand coolly and quietly corrected, hopeful that Mr. Marvell did not spin over the error. Editor.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Mrs. Fred L. Whipple, wife of the director of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Laboratory, related that in 1946 her husband — noted Harvard University astronomer, wrote a paper for an unidentified non-profit research organization in California.

Some time after he had turned in the paper, he found that he needed some of the data contained in the article. Mrs. Whipple said the organization replied:

"This has been classified top secret. Since you do not have the proper security rating, we cannot permit you to see it."

St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, 2/8

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: "Professor Who Knows We Are Crazy But Who Is Afraid To Sign His Name Because He Might Lose His Job."

Israel & 'New Outlook'

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN is to be congratulated that it is one of the few papers in the U.S. which has taken the trouble to comment on several occasions on the important new Jewish-Arab Assn. for Peace and Equality and the magazine, **New Outlook**, published in English in Israel and dedicated to peace and Jewish-Arab rapprochement.

However, in a recent dispatch from Israel, your correspondent seems to project a difference of opinion between those Israeli groups—such as Mapam and others—which demand peace between Israel and the Arab States only through direct peace negotiations, and others—such as Maki (Israel Communist Party) and Dr. N. Goldmann—who believe that peace can be brought about only through an overall settlement reached through Great Power negotiations.

The fact is that these are not mutually exclusive ideas. Except for the Maki group, all those who endorse the necessity for an overall settlement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in the Middle East, including Mapam, Dr. Goldmann and others, also add that such a settlement should create the atmosphere for and be followed or accompanied by direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab States on specific issues. The latter are against any settlement imposed by the Great Powers, whether the U.S. or the Soviet Union.

To criticize the Jewish-Arab Assn. for proposing that Arab education should emphasize vocational and agricultural training, and imply by this that it would "confine young Arabs" and "smack of discrimination," is probably a result of ignorance of the facts of Arab life in Israel and elsewhere, as well as a distortion of all the purposes of the Association.

The most reactionary aspect of Arab life is the fact that in the rural areas which make up the greatest sector of Arab society, the reactionary influence of the Islamic religious authorities and the feudal patriarchal structure work against the modernization of the Arab community. Moreover, only the raising of the vocational and agricultural abilities of Arab youth can help integrate the Arab minority into the total life of Israel. In a country such as Israel, based on scientific development and modern technology, only educated Arabs versed in such subjects can hope to remodel the Arab community, rural and urban, and to make integration a possibility.

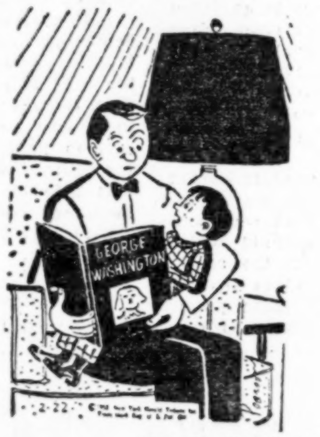
Your correspondent also questions the fact that **New Outlook** appears in English only. The reason for this is tragic but realistic. None of the Arab countries surrounding Israel is ready to receive the publication direct from Israel. One of the purposes of **New Outlook** is to underline Israel's integral relationship to the rest of Asia. The "lingua franca" of the intellectuals of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, etc., is English.

It is the hope of the sponsors of **New Outlook** that through these intellectuals, who do have growing and direct contacts with the Arab States around Israel, the message of **New Outlook** will be transmitted. In fact, many people of good-will, Jews and non-Jews, in the U.S. have undertaken a similar task. They are subscribing to **New Outlook** for Arab friends and aquaintances and the magazine is transmitted from Israel to the U.S. and back again to the Arab countries.

Once the walls are down, perhaps another edition of **New Outlook** in Arabic will be a natural result.

Your readers may be interested in the magazine and should be directed again to its New York office at 1 Union Square.

Richard Yaffe



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Are you sure he didn't cut it down because there was a surplus of cherries?"

On Zionism

WASHINGTON, N. H.

The Wassermann article on the political situation in Israel and the Petran articles on the Arab liberation movements raise a question that has long been troubling me. That question is the conciliatory attitude toward Zionism on the part of both the Communist Party and progressives in this country.

The fact is that migration to Israel is not the answer for the majority of Jews in this country for obvious reasons—lack of space, lack of workers' funds and lack of desire.

Zionism reflects not the needs of a majority of Jews, but the machinations of the imperialists. The brutally-treated Arab refugees, the attack on Egypt, the overtures to the Nazi element in Germany and the hostile attitude toward Arab liberation in general are not accidental or personal characteristics of Ben Gurion. Zionism is a reflection of imperialism now as it has always been.

The population of Israel can best be protected by applying for autonomy as a part of Egypt whose government is capable of handling immigration in such a way as to serve the interests of both Jew and Arab.

Zionism has also been a bridgehead for reformist, bourgeois ideas on the Negro question in the U.S. It is not unusual to hear from Zionists the same slander against Arabs that racists preach against Negroes in this country.

I hope that this letter will be a contribution to a discussion which will lead to an ideological break with Zionism by Marxists. I believe that such a break is a first step toward performing our special duty against American imperialist designs in the near East.

Homer B. Chase

Grim impartiality

NOVATO, CALIF.

In his article on the Gaither Report Kumar Goshal says the report recommends "an outlay of $5,000,000,000 a year for four or five years to build shelters to protect people from radioactive fallout, but not from the direct blast. There was no explanation for the distinction."

Is it not possible that the authors of the report, having in mind a "preventive" war, assume that the blast would occur in the Soviet Union rather than the U.S.?

The fallout, however, with grim impartiality, would distribute itself over the entire world.

Eleanor E. Sawyer

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Elmer Bendiner, Louis E. Burnham, Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert Joyce (Art), Robert E. Light (Production), Tabitha Petran. LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. PROMOTION and CIRCULATION: George Evans. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. SAN FRANCISCO-BAY AREA REPRESENTATIVE: Isabel Van Frank, 2134 Grant St., Berkeley 3, Calif. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), Wilfred Burchett (Moscow), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent).

VOL. 10, No. 19 401 February 24, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

Raves for Robeson

GUESS WHO MOVED the San Francisco **Chronicle**'s music critic early this month to write these words: ". . . the tones came forth with rich resonant depth that would put a gleam of envy in the eye of a cello maker. . . . he floated the pianissimo melody of the Largo from Dworak's Fifth Symphony with such feeling that a person next to me sat quietly crying while the crowd applauded."

And the Oakland **Tribune's** man wrote this: "As of old, the sincere conviction, the dramatic vitality which he infused into his songs created the same strong impact, enhanced by the aura of personality which illumined them."

The artist was Paul Robeson, appearing in what the San Francisco **Call-Bulletin** called "his come-back concert" in Oakland Auditorium Theater, Sunday, Feb. 9. Said the **Call-Bulletin** man: "The capacity audience loved every minute of it and let the 59-year-old Negro basso know it."

ROBESON'S CONCERT was the high-spot of the Bay Area's observation of Negro History Week. The **Call-Bulletin** reporter noted there was "no politicking" and also that there was "no picketing, as had been rumored, either." The picketing had been threatened by a man the San Francisco **Daily News** identified as "Supersnoop Sam Cooke Jr. . . . who calls himself national director of the Western Nationalist Crusade."

Cooke claims 100,000 members in his organization, but none showed up to picket in response to his call. Cooke and his wife appeared and were photographed in the rain copying down license numbers of cars of the people inside, who apparently couldn't have cared less. The critic for the Hearst **Examiner** ignored the antics of Supersnoop but remarked of Robeson: "Controversial he may be as a political figure, but there is no question in this reviewer's mind as to the magnificent quality of his mighty voice and the dominance of his warm stage presence . . . the profound power and true timbre of this bass voice can be felt as if it were a physical force. It is a magnificent musical instrument emitting sound like the lower register pipes of a giant organ."

Accompanist William Duncan Allen's piano interlude was noted with all around enjoyment, too, the Oakland **Tribune** calling him "skillful and musically sensitive" in a program of works of six Negro composers.

CONTRASTS WITH PEEKSKILL 1949 are unavoidable, and it does seem as if the people and some of the press of this country—in contrast to the investigative and propaganda agencies of government—have come a long way since those frightening days nine years ago.

As a result of the terror, the progressive people of America have had Robeson all to themselves for the last decade, and a magnificent reward it has been for the small contribution of sticking with the fight for peace and sanity in the world around us. We happily share him again with the whole of the people.

THE OAKLAND CONCERT ushers in what looks like a great new year for Paul Robeson. He has a tour scheduled for Nova Scotia and perhaps more of Canada; England is demanding his presence in huge newspaper headlines. There will be more concerts throughout the U.S. and a new LP record album which will be sold through the Guardian Buying Service when it's out. And Robeson has written a book, **Here I Stand,** which we'll review very soon.

Also—and this is a special note to our West Coast readers—all our California Bay Area friends will have the chance to meet and hear him in person at the Guardian Bay Area banquet early in the Spring. We'll have details on that, too, soon.

—THE GUARDIAN

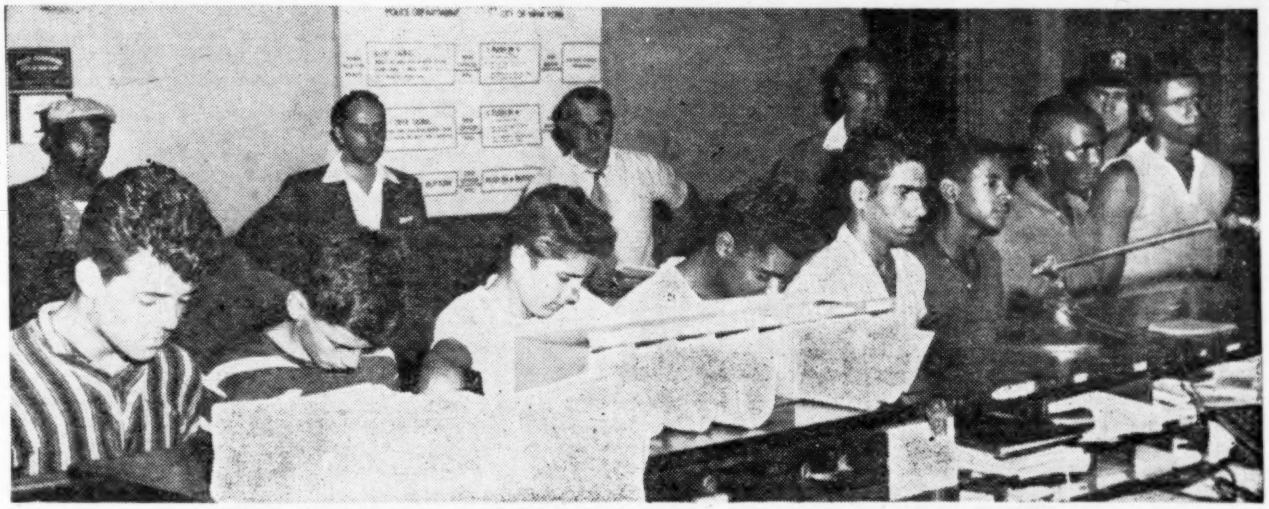
IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS

New 'cure' for 'difficult' kids: Make 'em work

THE PROBLEM of what to do with, for and to "difficult" children continued to draw a variety of answers in New York last week. The general trend of official thinking was that they ought to be put to work, that they were "uneducable" and that schools should be devoted to nice, polite youngsters who could "repay" society. Some experts suggested better "detention" facilities and others thought that military training was the answer.

At stake were laws, won by hard fighting many decades ago, which decreed that the schools were bound to provide instruction for all children up to the age of 17 in New York and that no child under 16 should be allowed to work full time or during school hours. At Board of Education headquarters in Brooklyn last week State and city officials conferred on a "work-study" program for boys and girls under 16. They admitted that existing school and child-labor laws would have to be amended

MAKESHIFT PLANS: Youths between 16 and 17 are currently allowed to work 36 hours a week if they attend school for four hours. To appease those who insisted that perhaps more and better education rather than less was the answer, the officials suggested that perhaps the ratio might be changed to 30 hours of work and ten of school. Meanwhile, investigators of the Board of Education were scouting among abandoned school buildings that might be quickly converted to "special" schools for the "difficult" children already suspended.



BOYS WHO PLAYED WAR MAY FACE DEATH AT HANDS OF THEIR ELDERS

In New York the prosecution continued to present its case against seven of the eight boys photographed above when they were booked for the murder of 15-year-old Michael Farmer in New York's Highbridge Park last July. If convicted, a death sentence is mandatory for these defendants ranging in age from 15 to 18. In General Sessions Court last week the "gang" life of these boys seemed a faithful imitation of their elders. Testifying for the prosecution was the gang's "war counselor," who missed one mobilization because his mother wouldn't let him go out. Also held was a 25-year-old "elder statesman" who advised the warriors. The victim was allegedly an innocent bystander mistaken for a member of a rival gang which had forcibly barred Negro boys from the park's swimming pool. Racism, too, seemed a faithful imitation of the grown-ups.

The Board on Feb. 6 had announced a policy of suspending all those declared by a principal or the superintendent to be guilty of "insubordination" or "disruption." Some 600 were promptly tossed out of school with no place to go. After State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen reminded city officials that they were legally bound to provide instruction for these as for all other children up to 17, the policy was called a "temporary" one and mass suspensions were halted.

The idea of finding makeshift schools in abandoned buildings with an improvised faculty and no budget was condemned by the Teachers Guild which said: "It is no solution for the school system to hide cast-off children in cast-off schools." The Teachers Union, pointing out that the current budget had been so slashed that special services were impossible, said it was "nothing better than a plan to rob Peter to pay Paul."

OTHER VOICES: At best the four additional "special" schools promised by next September would accommodate only a fraction of those suspended. Meanwhile the High School Teachers Assn. and the High School Principals Assn. condemned the Board for "backsliding" on its suspension policy. They said they needed the authority to suspend troublesome kids. Also on the "tough" side was Jacob Padawer, state judge advocate of the Jewish War Veterans, who urged military training for children, who up to now have had access to only the more primitive weapons.

The general policy of mass suspensions was vigorously opposed by former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman who told the annual banquet of the Association of Towns last week: "Return them to the streets with less supervision than they have ever had, and they become greater menaces to the community than ever before."

James Marshall, formerly a rebel member of the Board of Education until former Mayor Impelliteri refused to reappoint him, commented: "Perhaps the Superintendent and the Board of Education were never insubordinate or disruptive in school. But I know people who are good judges, good public servants, good professors today who disrupted classes and were insubordinate as youngsters and I suspect that no one with ambition and imagination and a spirit of independence has not been disruptive or insubordinate at some time in his school career."

RACIST ANGLE: In the hullabaloo over "difficult" children there were ominous overtones of an impending racist attack on the movement, only now gaining momentum in New York, to integrate the schools. On Feb. 10 the NAACP Board of Directors adopted a resolution of concern over "the manner in which the grand jury investigating the public schools of Brooklyn has exploited the natural concern of the people of this city for the welfare of their children. . . . What purported to be an investigation of the schools has turned out to be an attack upon the city's entire educational system with thinly veiled overtones of racial prejudice."

It was the Brooklyn grand jury, under the prodding of Kings County Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, that needled the Board of Education into its suspension program. For years the Board had faced a deteriorating situation of violence in the schools with a bland cover-up. Then, under the Grand Jury's pressure, it plunged into what many considered a desperate panic. Many of the target schools singled out by the grand jury contained a large proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils.

Meanwhile another group from outside the schools was showing interest in the situation. Members of a special Senate subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency tentatively scheduled public hearings in New York, Feb. 27-28. Southern Senators have indicated that they might make pro-segregation capital out of the New York shambles. In a TV program. "Between The Lines," on WABD last week, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) said it would be "nonsense" to relate racial integration to delinquency, and vowed: "I'll do everything in my power to prevent an inquiry." On the same telecast Stanley Lowell, assistant to Mayor Wagner, said that if the subcommittee "is coming here to try to prove that we have a Spanish problem or a Negro problem in our schoools . . . we are going to invite them out."

13,000 OUT ON 26 ISLAND PLANTATIONS

Hawaii sugar strike: first big 1958 labor test

By Lawrence Emery

A LITTLE-NOTICED STRIKE of 13,000 workers on 26 sugar plantations in Hawaii, led by the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, appears to be the first serious test of this year's Big Business-government solid opposition to wage increases.

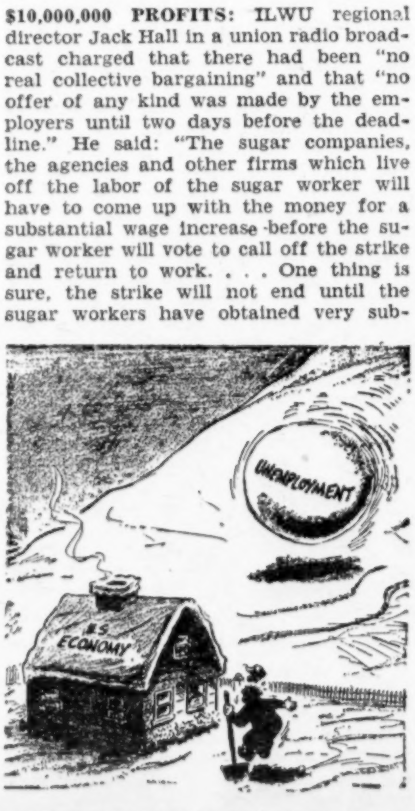
Main demand of the sugar workers, among the lowest paid in the Islands, is for a straight 25c-an-hour pay boost. The strike began on Feb. 1 on a "no contract, no work" union stand after the employers had refused to bargain on the ILWU's demands. Federal mediators are now meeting with both sides, but the strike is expected to be a long one.

The employers have set up their own "strike insurance" fund, while the workers have set in extra food supplies and the union has pledged its full resources for their support. It has all the signs of a show-down battle, with some advantage on the employers' side because sugar cane is a two-year crop.

HOW IT BEGAN: New contract talks began last Dec. 9, but the employers announced in advance that there would be no negotiations unless the union withdrew its demands. The ILWU invited them to make counter-proposals, but they refused. The futile talks dragged on for eight weeks; on Jan. 28 ILWU president Harry Bridges passed a note to the chief employer spokesman: "We are prepared to settle and reach agreement at something less than 25c per hour in order to avoid a strike." The offer was rejected and the employers refused to make a counter-proposal on the grounds that the union "would reject it." At that point negotiations were formally broken off.

Two days before the strike deadline the employers made what union leaders called a "splitting proposal." The lowest three wage grades, comprising the overwhelming majority of sugar workers, were offered a 4c-an-hour increase; some 2,000 workers in the top four grades were offered from 10c to 24c an hour more. The union promptly put the proposal to a secret vote and it was rejected by 11,300 to 129. The strike was on.

$10,000,000 PROFITS: ILWU regional director Jack Hall in a union radio broadcast charged that there had been "no real collective bargaining" and that "no offer of any kind was made by the employers until two days before the deadline." He said: "The sugar companies, the agencies and other firms which live off the labor of the sugar worker will have to come up with the money for a substantial wage increase before the sugar worker will vote to call off the strike and return to work. . . . One thing is sure, the strike will not end until the sugar workers have obtained very substantial wage increases and, while it may hurt them a bit or even quite a bit, the employers have the money to pay them."



Molders & Foundry Workers Journal, Cincinnati

He presented figures to show that the plantations for the 1956-1957 crop years made profits of $10,000,000. This was exclusive of sugar profits going to the Big Five, the big business organizations which control the Island's economy.

Base pay for Island sugar workers is $1.12 an hour; skilled craftsmen get $1.66½ an hour. Some plantations still maintain a 48-hour straight time week.

ENTER THE MACHINE: Cost of living expenses for basic items is far higher in the Islands than on the mainland; the figure for Honolulu is 20-25% higher than for Los Angeles. Food costs range 35% higher.

Mechanization has also overtaken the sugar industry in Hawaii; the number of hourly-paid plantation workers has dropped from 22,743 in 1947 to 13,781 by Sept. 1, 1957. Between 1947 and 1956 the average annual rate of increase in productivity was 9.4% for the Hawaii sugar industry; for all U.S. manufacturing industry the figure was 3.7%. Hawaiian sugar output per man-day of labor has risen from a base index of 100 in 1947 to an estimated 237.4 in 1957.

The ILWU points out that "it is a little known fact that it costs less in wages to produce a ton of sugar in Hawaii than in any other American area—and this even includes Puerto Rico." It gives these figures for the money cost for labor per ton of sugar: Hawaii, $28.91; beet area, $32.38; Florida, $33.06; Louisiana, $44.29; Puerto Rico, $44.46.

The ILWU began organizing Hawaii sugar workers during the war in early 1944. At that time sugar workers were frozen to their jobs for as little as $1.50 a day while defense workers were making more than that in an hour.

'A piece of cold meat between two thick slabs of fear'

NOT TOO MANY YEARS AGO when I was in high school there was an expression of distaste—"greasy"—that just about fits the situation I'm in down at work. I could slip out of my job just as easily as I slipped, or rather fell, into it. I work in a downtown office and I make less than $400 a month. I wear a white collar and I have six different striped neckties that I alternate according to mood. I have a gray flannel suit and a charcoal suit. I look through papers to see if they are all right. I add up columns of figures and sometimes I even tell one or another of the girls what to do.

I am 27 years old and I am afraid of losing my job. I do not lie awake nights worrying about it, although one night around 11 o'clock I more or less shouted "Good grief!" and woke up my wife, who said crossly, "What's eating you?" "Nothing," I said, but I was worrying about getting fired.

My boss, a medium-sized man with gray eyes and a habit of repeating himself, has never indicated in any way that he would like to get rid of me. It's not that. It's a couple of things, really. The way I got the job in the first place, and the large number of unemployed walking around on the streets bother me more than anything else; although there are a few other factors.

I GRADUATED from high school in 1949 and then went to college with a student's deferment. The Korean conflict broke out while I was in college and I got so nervous about losing my deferment and being drafted that my grades went to pieces and I enlisted in the Air Force. Four years later I came back and almost finished college. I did not finish because I got married and my wife got pregnant. I began looking around, idly, for the sort of job I would like. We had enough money to last for a few months, so I didn't look too hard nor too hungrily. Naturally, the first job I applied for was the one I got.

The ad said, "Young Man 25-35 experienced in office management, accounting, etc., to work for large national firm." I sent a brief, witty note to the box number on the ad, expecting to hear nothing more about it, but a few days later I was called for an interview and then I was hired. It worried me at the time and it still worries me.

Since I have worked in the office I have seen seven people come and go. No advance notice. One day they would be deep in their work, kidding the girls, totting on the machines, and the next day they would be gone without a trace. Nobody ever said anything about these mysterious disappearances.

EVERY SO OFTEN a young man will come into the office and ask to see my boss. The young man is always aggressive, neat, handsome and casual. I know from experience that these young men are salesmen, but try selling that to my inner mind. My inner mind whispers to me, "Ah-hah, there goes the old job!" and my palms begin to sweat.

Sometimes the boss will come over to my desk and say, "Well, doing fine here, fine. Keep up the good work, hey? Good work." Then he will look at the disorder of papers on my desk and frown. Then he walks away. "The kiss of death," the man at the next desk whispers to me, but he's always saying things like that. He has been afraid of losing his job for 15 years.

What would I do if I lost my job? I have, as I said, a wife and child. I owe the bank $2,674 on my car. I owe the hospital, two doctors and three department stores. My wife wants to buy a house. Over the past year and a half I have slipped casually and greasily into the kind of debt that economists predict will ruin the country. I repeat, what will I do if I lost my job?

I AM NOT an isolated example: Portland is teeming with young men who, like myself, are afraid of unemployment. There are two kinds of us—those who wear hats and those who don't. I think the ones who wear hats will eventually go into selling when they lose their present jobs. Those of us without hats (I am one of these) will think mistily of going to sea or joining the forest service, but I'm afraid that we will end up working in gas stations. Some of us may even turn to crime.

It's astonishing, to me, that more of us aren't criminals. As I ride the bus home any number of crimes occur to me. Most frequently I find myself thinking about getting into the confidence game. We'll see.

There are about 30,000 people in Portland who are out of work. Assuming that only 1% of them are capable of doing what I do (and I'm certain that almost anybody is) that means that there are about 300 people in Portlnd who could oust me. That's what I was thinking about that night when I shouted "Good grief."

—Reprinted from **TV Prevue,**
P.O. Box 2345, Portland, Ore.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ACTION

Economy crisis offers chance for a debate on real issues

By Victor Perlo

THE PRESIDENT'S Budget Message and Economic Report were based on preparation for runaway military spending and an ill-founded optimism concerning the economic outlook. But since the messages were delivered events have engulfed the policy in contradictions and discredited the prognosis. The international peace pressure surpasses anything experienced during the entire cold war. The economic decline has already gone further than earlier post-war recessions.

James Reston writes in the **N. Y. Times** (2/7): "Half the Senate was worrying about outer space today but the other half was even more worried about the inner tensions of the national economy. News of bread lines . . . and rising unemployment . . . were bringing the legislators back to earth. . . . The focus of political attack on the administration is now shifting from missiles to unemployment."

The old policy is in crisis. For a change, real issues may be debated. There are new opportunities for effective action on issues that count:

• Prompt, all-out government economic measures vs. a wait-and-see policy.

Some business interests are for the all-out approach. For years the **Journal of Commerce** warned of the dangers of inflation, and engaged in a running argument with inflation-minded Harvard economist Sumner Slichter. Now that paper is excitedly demanding quick and bounteous government deficit spending.

But Chairman William McC. Martin of the Federal Reserve, representing banking interests, favors the slow and cautious method. The Administration hews closer to this course. It has given only secondary boosts to the economy through easy-money policies, and delays starting massive spending and tax cuts.

• All-out armament vs. specially directed military spending.

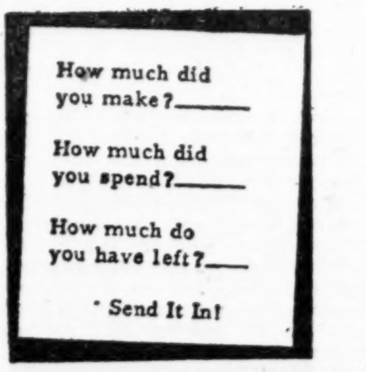
The Rockefellers and others of their school contemplated a general armament boom. Earlier the Administration had been for shifting funds from one field to another, rather than for a massive rise in the whole scale of output. The budget still left the issue in doubt. It reflected the Rockefeller positions, but the statistics were not yet adjusted accordingly. **Life** magazine and the **Washington Post** criticized the figures as inadequate. But, as the President spoke, a representative of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was complaining of the record budget, and demanding that the Defense Dept. prove its case for every item, lest the "crisis psychology" wreck the economy.

Political and economic events temper the enthusiasm for reckless arms spending. It is awkward to carry on all-out militarization in the face of the swelling demand for a summit meeting and the favorable response to the U.S.-Soviet agreement on cultural exchange.

The sponsors of the missile buildup promised a vigorous economic response. Contracts have already been let at a rapid pace, yet unemployment still rises. The illusion that arms contracts makes a business panacea in current conditions is fading. Congress will grant larger appropriations for specifics, but may balk at larger, more general demands, while pressure for offsetting defense budget cuts is appearing.

• Higher, stable, or lower taxes.

In the wake of the Gaither-Rockefeller reports, wealthy interests appeared reconciled to paying taxes as at present, while raising levies on the population. Worsening economic conditions have brought mounting demands for tax cuts as a stimulus. Even the President, who spoke of "sacrifice" a few weeks ago, now admits of a possible tax reduction later.



How much did you make?______

How much did you spend?______

How much do you have left?____

· Send It In!

Labor's Daily, Bettendorf, Iowa

SHORT TAX FORM

This will certainly be a stormy issue in Congress. It may not be possible to repeat the multi-billion award to the rich as in 1954. Direct labor pressure and legislators' political fears could produce a genuine fight for some tax relief for the people, combined with resistance to more give-aways to big business. Advocates of each kind of tax cut claim it will end the slump. In the generally unfavorable circumstances, neither kind will restore prosperity. What is at stake is who will bear the burden of hard times—more precisely, whether or not the least able will have to carry it all.

• The fight over welfare and employment-creating programs.

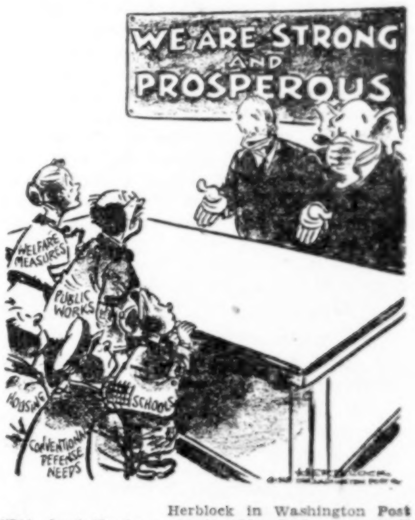
Under labor pressure, the most serious campaign of the post-war period for improved unemployment insurance, and various kinds of public works and welfare spending, is shaping up. Such a campaign would be in direct opposition to the "sacrifice-for-defense" program of big business. But top labor leadership continues to advocate "guns and butter." and its specific demands are far behind those coming from local and state organizations.

The guns and butter argument is losing its appeal. Until recently millions of workers believed that arms spending would mean full employment. Now some see otherwise. James Carey, president of the AFL-CIO electrical workers, recently attacked the idea that defense spending would bring jobs back. Other labor statements are minimizing armaments and giving major emphasis to welfare planks.

• Heightened cold war vs. "competitive coexistence."

Domestic opposition to the cold war is the most outspoken in a decade, and is reflected in Congressional debates. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), long a "guns and butter" man, now advocates coexistence and disarmament efforts. Several Representatives from New Jersey, Minnesota and Arizona have been taking a qualified peace position in Congress and attacking Dulles. Certainly the shifting labor emphasis, as well as awareness of world pressures, figures in this situation.

Also, big business differences on foreign and armament policy are emerging. Press comment is that while Stassen has been forced out, his ideas are winning some minor victories. The **Wall St. Journal's** George Shea wrote an extremely significant column in which he pointed out the failure of the military buildup to stop the slump, and noted, by the same token, that disarmament would not hurt. He then went further:



Herblock in Washington Post

"It's just that we can't afford the money."

"On the positive side, progress toward disarmament would reflect a more mutual trust among nations, which could strongly stimulate business confidence. One of the causes of the post-Korean world-wide boom may have been that Russian aggression seemed for a while to have been stopped. It is conceivable, therefore, that disarmament, if ever really achieved, might open up a new phase of expansion the whole world over." (**WSJ**, 2/3/58).

WHAT IT WOULD DO: The idea has been expressed before, but rarely so prominently in a major Wall St. publication. American manufacturers, feeling declining markets, cannot be indifferent to the latest (1957) one-third increase in East-West trade, from which they were barred by Government regulations. The opening of socialist markets would be a logical (although not automatic) resultant of serious easing of world tensions.

The next important upsurge of private investment will be heavily weighted with applications of the great scientific-technological advances of the past decade. These are still largely locked up under military restrictions, or limited by traditional orientation to a military market. Disarmament would hasten the availability of these techniques to civilian industry, and make for an improvement in capital investment in everything from atomic energy to the peaceful exploration of space.

Finally, disarmament progress would create an environment in which labor could win major victories in a real campaign for large-scale welfare spending and reform legislation.

. . . without milk or sugar

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA agricultural economists have a name for it: This they classify as a "gold-plated" recession. And while they think it will last some months, they call it "a sort of economic coffee break."

—**Business Week**, Feb. 1

FIVE MONTHS OF INACTION

Senate group acts to end stall on civil rights program

ON FEB. 10 Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.) dropped a legislative fly in the go-slow ointment with which the Administration has sought to salve the wounds of the Dixiecrat South on the issue of civil rights. Douglas, joined by a bipartisan group of 15 Senators, introduced a bill to give the government broad powers to foster school integration and enforce constitutional guarantees of equality. The action was taken despite the fact that "the Administration and the Democratic and Republican leaderships in Congress have a tacit understanding that no new rights legislation will be considered in the foreseeable future" (N.Y. **Times**, 2/11).

The Douglas bill would restore Title III which Congress eliminated from the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This section empowers the Attorney General to act where states or communities fail to carry out the Supreme Court's desegregation orders or where a citizen is denied equal protection in the courts. New provisions of the measure would:

- Grant $2,500,000 a year for five years to the Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare for "technical assistance" to states, local communities, and school districts seeking to eliminate segregation in public education.
- Appropriate $40,000,000 annually for five years for teacher-training, school construction and other services where lack of adequate facilities is a major barrier to integration.
- Make funds available to communities which want to comply with court desegregation orders but are threatened with withdrawal of state funds if they do.

Other sponsors of the new bill are: Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (Mo.), Pat McNamara (Mich.), Richard L. Neuberger and Wayne Morse (Ore.), William Proxmire (Wisc.), and Joseph S. Clark (Pa.), all Democrats; and Irving M. Ives and Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.), Clifford P. Case (N. J.), Gordon Allott (Colo.) and Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.), Republicans.

HIT INACTION: Douglas announced that Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) would introduce a companion bill in the House. The Senate action served to regain some part of the initiative which has been steadily slipping from the hands of civil rights advocates during the past several months.

The most notable instance of Federal ineffectiveness in this field has been the failure to decide on a program of action for the Civil Rights Commission. The Commission has been stalled for five months in its efforts to secure a director acceptable to the three Southern Democrats, two Northern Republicans and one independent who make up its membership.

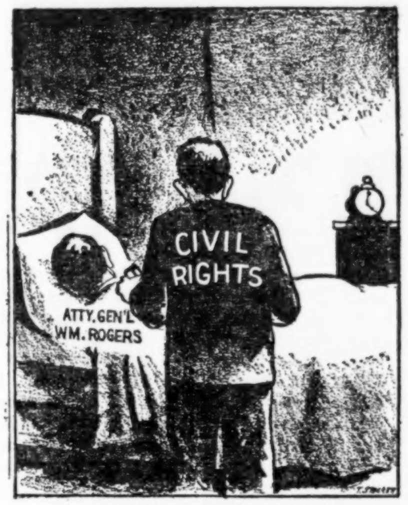
The $22,500-a-year job has been turned down by several lawyers recommended to the President by the Commissioners. Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of NAACP, attributed the futile search to the Administration's effort to find a person with no background in the civil rights field. "The way they are letting it slide along," he said, "is typical of the way the Administration acts on the civil rights question. Usually they wait until a crisis develops before doing something."

THE SOUTH IS NOT SLOW: Another barrier was placed in the path of the slow-moving Commission when a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, headed by Rep. George W. Andrews (D-Ala.), sidetracked an Administration request for $750,000 in operating funds. Andrews claimed the funds were denied because the Commission had no executive officer and presumably needed no money from Congress until it got one. The House sent the request back to the Committee for further consideration.

In sharp contrast to these dilatory tactics, Southern states have stepped up their campaigns against integration. Legislatures of five states now have before them bills or proposals to close schools if Federal troops are used to enforce desegregation. Such measures have been introduced into the legislatures of Delaware and Mississippi and have been recommended by Govs. Griffin of Georgia, Timmerman of South Carolina and Almond of Virginia. Texas and Florida have already passed school-closing bills.

THE TARGET IS NAACP: These measures are intended to help guarantee a "Century of Litigation" threatened by the White Citizens Councils. In the field of school segregation alone, 145 laws have been added to the statute books in 11 states in the last four years. They employ every legal device at the village, county and state levels to thwart the Supreme Court rulings.

Another favorite legislative target of the segregationists is the NAACP. Five states — Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—plus 15 cities in Arkansas, have enacted anti-NAACP measures. A three-judge Federal District Court on Feb. 3 struck down three such laws passed by the Virginia General Assembly. Two of the acts required the NAACP to list its members; the third penalized lawyers who handled NAACP cases. For the majority in a 2-1 decision, Judge Morris Soper of Baltimore wrote that if the laws were permitted to stand "the Commonwealth [Virginia] would be free to use all of its resources in the search for lawful methods to postpone and, if possible, defeat the established constitutional rights of a body of its citizens, while the colored people of the state would be deprived of the resources needed to resist the attack in the State and Federal courts."



Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
"Please go away and let me sleep."

MEMBERSHIP DROPS: The anti-NAACP drive has not been without some effect. The organization in 1957 suffered a 14% decline in membership, from 350,000 to 302,000, and ended the year with a $52,000 deficit. General counsel Robert Carter told the **Wall Street Journal** (1/30) that "it seems clear that the NAACP itself must face and fight a series of legal maneuvers designed to so occupy the time of our lawyers that they will be unable to push ahead on the desegregation front."

It seemed the NAACP had a better than even chance of licking its foes in the courts. What to do about some of its friends was another problem.

NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall told the **Journal**: "Two-thirds of the time that phone rings, it's some friend begging or cajoling me to slow down. Why, if I slow down any more I'll be running backwards."

THE BATTLE OF LITTLE ROCK GOES ON

Mrs. Daisy Bates, Arkansas NAACP state president, shown with Counsel Robert L. Carter, lost a round in her legal fight with the city of Little Rock on Feb. 12 when Circuit Court Judge Wm. Kirby upheld her conviction under the city's "Bennett Ordinance." Mrs. Bates has refused to turn over to the city names of NAACP members, as provided by the ordinance. Her fine was reduce from $100 to $25. The case will be appealed to Arkansas Supreme Court.

ALL RECORDS BROKEN

SWP files petitions for Michigan ballot

DETROIT

TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND petitions to place a socialist ticket on the 1958 ballot in Michigan were filed in Lansing on Feb. 5 by Rita Shaw, state secy. of the Socialist Workers Party. It is the largest number of petitions for ballot status ever submitted by any minor party in the state's history.

"We plan to file an additional 9,000 signatures by the end of February," Mrs. Shaw said. "The total then will be twice the 15,000 legally required, and will be added insurance against any moves that may be made to bar us from the ballot." (In 1956 the Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties submitted the legally required minimums, but were still ruled off the ballot.)

Mrs. Shaw added: "The speed with which our petitions are being signed is an encouraging sign that tens of thousands of people in Michigan are looking for an alternative to the old parties. It looks like a good year for mobilizing broad support behind a socialist program for full employment, peace and civil liberties."

FOR SOCIALISM

Midwest youth parley unites many groups

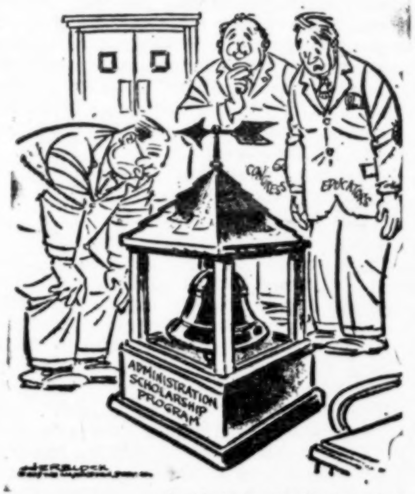
Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

FIFTEEN CAMPUSES and a score of American and Canadian cities were represented here this month as the Midwest Conference on "Perspectives for Socialist Youth" brought together representatives of virtually every tendency of the radical left for a weekend of discussion. The conference was organized by the Socialist Youth Committee of Chicago.

Attention was on problems of critical significance to young people. "Recession and Depression," "Juvenile Delinquency," "The Negro Struggle," "Peace and the H-Bomb," "Socialism and Democracy," were discussed in work sessions led by members of a number of recently organized socialist youth clubs throughout the Midwest.

A special panel on the "State of Civil Liberties" considered the seizure of passports from the 41 American visitors to China; the Sobell case; witchhunts on the campus; the army discharge cases; and the campaign to free the last Smith Act victims—Gilbert Green and Henry Winston.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Fine—now all we need to do is jack it up and put a school under it."

Sam Reed, one of the eight Cleveland Taft-Hartley defendants recently convicted of "conspiracy" to file a false non-communist affidavit, was added to the panel, and analyzed the significance of the case to the trade union movement and to civil liberties in general.

THE PROOF: In its final session the conference unanimously endorsed resolutions demanding return of the right to travel to all Americans; an end to H-bomb testing; and freedom for Green and Winston. It sent greetings to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, and to the nine Negro students attending Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., "for their valiant efforts on behalf of the struggle for minority rights."

Participants felt that the conference proved that a socialist youth movement is not altogether the property of an "era that has passed." Age of registered participants ranged from 14 to 32, with a mean in the early twenties. Newly formed clubs in cities, colleges, and high schools predominated. Members and former members of the Labor Youth League, Young Socialist League, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party, along with libertarians and independents, showed that a common basis does exist for discussion and action.

The conference adopted a policy of mutual aid in support of and establishment of new independent, non-exclusive clubs throughout the country. It advanced the regroupment discussion on the Left to a new level of significance to the socialist movement as a whole.

WHY WASHINGTON IS SO UPSET

Furore over Tunisia focuses world attention on Algeria

By Kumar Goshal

AT A FARMSTEAD on the outskirts of the town of Sakiet-Sidi-Youseff on Feb. 9, the bodies of 68 dead Tunisians lay under blankets and shrouds. Among them were 14 women and 14 children. After the Grand Mufti said the prayers and intoned Allahu Akbar (God is Great), Tunisia's Secy. of State Bahi Ladgham delivered a funeral oration, condemning the French for bombing the town the day before.

The townspeople followed the funeral procession to the little cemetery at the foot of the mountains, buried the dead, softly chanted the first verse of the Koran, and returned home—where the bombing had destroyed 130 dwellings, 85 shops and ten public buildings, including two schools.

Near the government office stood the wreckage of a Red Cross and a Red Crescent truck that had brought clothing for the Algerian refugees camping outside the town.

MADE IN U.S.: One Tunisian observed: "Somehow the French hit all the targets that are supposed to be spared in civilized warfare: women, children, schools and Red Cross vehicles." Besides the dead, there were 40 women and children among the 89 wounded and ten were reported missing. Angry Tunisian soldiers showed foreign correspondents bomb and rocket cases made in the U.S. and dropped by the French.

On Feb. 12 the French Assembly by a 335-179 vote supported Premier Gaillard's defense of the bombing as a legitimate military action undertaken in "hot pursuit" of Algerian freedom fighters. Gaillard denied civilian casualties, asserted only military targets were hit.

But his statements were contradicted by foreign diplomats stationed in Tunis, who had visited the bombed town; by six French newspapermen "of all political tendencies" who in a joint statement attested to seeing "the extent of the bombardment" and visiting "wounded women and children in the hospital at Le Kef;" by the Swedish Red Cross official Goesta Heuman, who watched the attack from the outskirts of the town and said he "will never forget the horrible sight of women and children lying dead and bleeding."

FOR TROOP REMOVAL: President Bourguiba asked France to close down its consulates in cities on the Tunisian-Algerian border, warned French naval vessels to stay away from the naval base of Bizerte. He said after meeting foreign diplomats, including U.S. Ambassador G. Lewis Jones, that removal of all French troops remaining in Tunisia "alone can reestablish a climate of friendship cleansed of the remains of colonialism."

Tunisian troops blockaded the French military stations, offered French soldiers the alternatives: "Come out to go home to France or come out fighting." Listening to the "hot pursuit" justification given by the French government, Tunisians remembered that, in 1881, French forces first entered Tunisia in such "hot pursuit" of Algerian guerrilla fighters and kept on going until they had conquered the whole country.

WORLD PROTEST: The bombing of the Tunisian town was condemned by press and public everywhere, even in W. Germany. NATO members were worried about its effect on the solidarity of the Western alliance. The **Frankfurter Allgemein Zeitung**, for example, said: "The bombardment . . . has created a greater terror among the Allied governments than among the rebels."

Hamburg's **Die Welt** felt ashamed and regretted that "French policy can continue to weaken the moral and political position of the West without any protest by the Allies." The **Christian Science Monitor** reported (2/11) that one W. German paper called for NATO sanctions against France, and another asked the Western world to stop economic aid to France "which enables it to continue the Algerian war."

The Paris **Le Monde** advanced the thesis that the bombing had been carried out deliberately as a right-wing effort to wreck French-Tunisian relations. It was known that France has been trying hard to insure a docile Tunisian government in the event it decided to build an oil pipeline from the Algerian oil fields to the Tunisian coast. Such a pipeline would be 200 miles shorter than one passing through Algeria.

HEAVY INVESTMENTS: France has invested heavily in the oil fields at Hassi r'Mel, Hassi Mesaoud and Edjele in the Algerian Sahara. The British Petroleum Co., Royal Dutch Shell, the Sinclair Oil Co., Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Newmont Mining Corp. of New York have become heavily involved in the French venture.

French settlers in Algeria, in fact, have taken for granted that the U.S. was on their side in the Algerian war. W. H. Lawrence reported (N.Y. **Times**, 1/1): "[The settlers] reason, correctly or not, that the big American oil companies would not be willing to form a partnership with French companies involving large investments unless the U.S. wished and expected Algeria and the Saharan fields to remain under French control."

The U.S. has given little indication contrary to the French settlers' belief. On Feb. 7 Tunisian President Bourguiba disclosed that he was discouraged to find in a note from President Eisenhower "what amounted to the French point of view, only slightly modified, on the Algeria frontier question" (**Times**, 2/8). Bourguiba said:

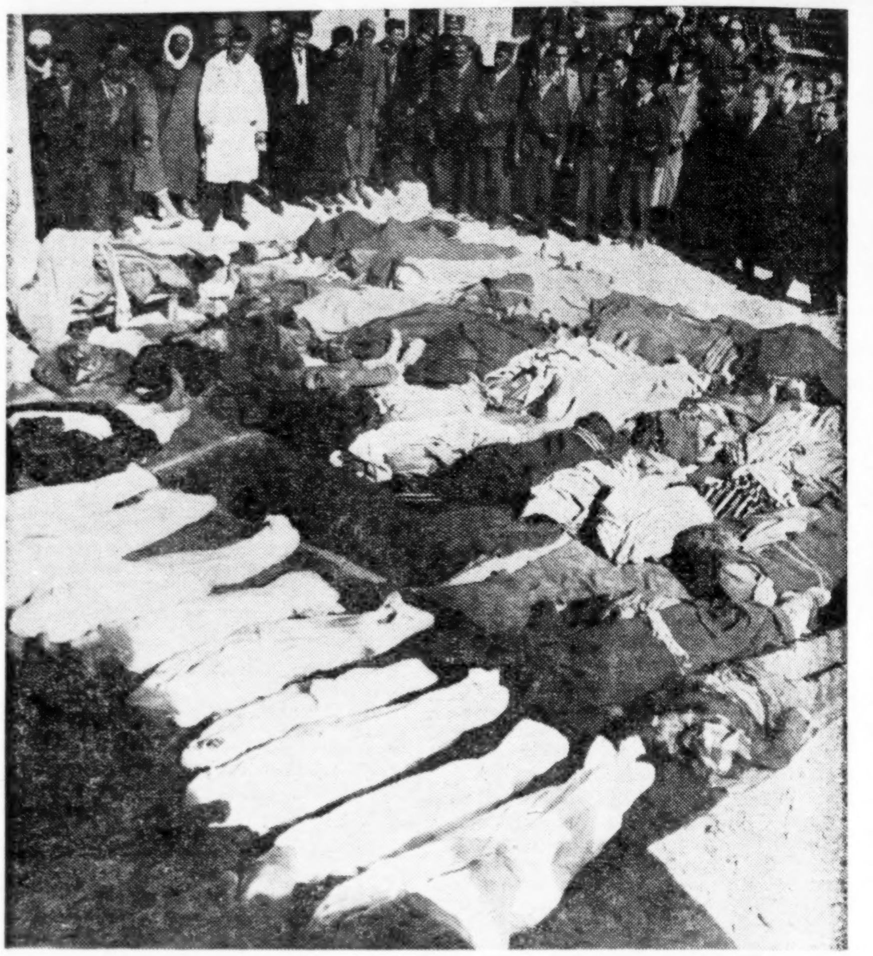
"Let's face it. Tunisia is for Algerian independence. Tunisia's own independence is in the balance. It is remarkable that I have been able so far to restrain the Tunisian people from volunteering to fight . . . with their Algerian brothers."

U.S. EMBARRASED: Pro-U.S. President Bourguiba was having a difficult time, indeed, in halting the rising tide of neutralism among the Tunisians and the clamor for more overt aid to the Algerian fighters. The newspaper **L'Action**, edited by the young intellectuals of the ruling New Constitution party, urged friendship with Moscow as well as Washington.

Under popular pressure, Bourguiba instructed Ambassador Mongi Slim to add to the complaint to the UN Security Council of French aggression against Tunisia the issue of the Algerian war as a threat to North African peace. At GUARDIAN press time Washington was reported desperately trying to forestall the embarrassment of a UN discussion of France using American planes and weapons against Algerians and Tunisians.

To French Premier Gaillard's offer of indemnity to the victims of the Sakiet bombing and his statement that this should solve the Tunisian-French problems, Tunisia's Secretary of State replied:

"That would be too simple. After our punishment we need only go back wisely to our place in the corner. . . . The veil of forgetfulness cannot cover the incidents which came before. . . . The real base of the problem is the war that continues in North Africa and threatens to extend to Tunisia."



THESE WERE FRANCE'S "MILITARY TARGETS" IN SAKIET
Their countrymen mourn the victims of the Tunisian raid

The Sakiet raid

(Continued from Page 1)

Mendès-France stood up, pale and calm. Amid an almost openly racial attack by a Poujadist deputy, he retraced his past actions and proposals regarding Indo-China and North Africa, and pleaded for a generous French Commonwealth with more internal independence.

Mendès-France was the seventh speaker in the House that night to describe the bombing of the small Tunisian border village a crime, a fault, an error, or all three.

The one positive result of the Sakiet bombing was that—contrary to the Suez affair just 15 months ago—opposition to it was prompt and vocal and did not come only from the extreme left and a few isolated liberals.

NOT MUCH CONFIDENCE: But this opposition remained a minority voice all the same. Prime Minister Gaillard carried a confidence vote in the House by 335 to 179. He carried it with petty compromises. The most revolting was the promise of financial indemnity to the Sakiet victims (the SP's condition for a favorable vote), at the very time the government denied all culpability toward these victims.

There is no doubt the vote was an expression not of the deputies' confidence but of their unwillingness to overthrow the government. To many present that night, Decency, Justice and Reason—France itself—had lost a battle far more grievous than Sakiet. Only a clear and open move could wipe out the shame: the punishment of those responsible for the bombing; the resignation of the government or the responsible Cabinet members. The Prime Minister's statement and the House vote implicitly condoned the raid instead.

THE CULPRITS: The uppermost internal question about Sakiet was: Who was responsible for the raid, who ordered it? This received no answer from the government. Observers had to read between the lines. By comparing various facts and statements, it seemed that Defense Minister Chaban-Delmas had advance information, that Foreign Minister Pineau had not. Algerian Resident Minister Lacoste claimed even before his own (SP) group that he had nothing to do with it. Yet, by a curious cincidence, the day before the raid, Lacoste on an inspection trip in the East Algerian border region told newsmen he was determined to "strike a hard blow" against Tunisian help to the Algerian underground.

The government itself, the Prime Minister said, had authorized the army to "exercise its right of legitimate defense." That was all he said. It meant, in fact, that the government was either covering up for the military, who were responsible for the raid, or—much less likely—that it was itself directly responsible for it but did not want to say so. It is hard to decide which of the two is more alarming.

THE RESULTS: Sakiet is the most tragic and the most flagrant episode yet—but only one among many—in the long, hopelessly contradictory course of action that first granted independence to Tunisia and Morocco, then refused that same right to Algeria by force of arms.

- Politically, Sakiet is the biggest step yet toward the internationalization of the Algerian war.
- Tactically, it has strengthened Tunisian President Bourguiba's prestige in the Arab world at the very time it was beginning to fade a little, and given him a first class bargaining (if not blackmailing) position with Washington and Paris.
- Legally, the government-invoked excuse of a "legitimate defense" that raids and kills women and children seems not to stand up to serious scrutiny.

MORAL DEFEAT: But a legal victory cannot wipe out the moral defeat France has suffered in the eyes of the Arab world.

The day before the Sakiet bombing, on Feb. 7, the Algerian FLN (Front of National Liberation) HQ, based in Tunis these last months, were moving to Cairo. The FLN leaders taking leave of Bourguiba told him: You place your trust in the West, we don't; the future will tell who is right.

Twenty-four hours later, as the people of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef dug their dead and their wounded children out of the rubble of a demolished schoolhouse, the future had begun to speak to them—and to most of the Arab world.

A VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY

The day the Golden Rule sailed for Eniwetok

By Jerry Hayes
Special to the Guardian

SAN PEDRO

AT 28 MINUTES after noon on Monday, Feb. 10, the 30-foot ketch, "Golden Rule," pulled away from Berth 44 here to start a 4,000-mile voyage to the waters off Eniwetok, where early in April the U.S. government is scheduled to conduct further nuclear tests.

The four-man crew, sailing to an uncertain fate to register their own protest—and the protest of many millions throughout the world—against "an act of suicide for mankind," consisted of::

Albert Bigelow, 51, Cos Cob, Conn., architect, Navy Lt. Commander in World War II, two children, four grandchildren.
William Huntington, 50, St. James, Long Island, N.Y., architect, three children, three grandchildren.

George Willoughby, 43, Blackwood Terrace, N.J., Secy., Central Committee of Conscientious Objectors, four children.

David Gale, 25, Carver, Minn., pacifist organizer, unmarried.

HECTIC DAYS: Gale is a Presbyterian, the others are Friends (Quakers). Bigelow and Huntington have had extensive experience in sailing small craft off the East Coast, Gale and Willoughby are landlubbers. Bigelow and Willoughby (and Willoughby's wife) were among the 11 persons arrested at Camp Mercury, Nev., last Aug. 7 for protesting the summer-long nuclear tests.

The 72 hours before sailing were hectic ones for the crew, interrupted by well-wishers and the press. On Friday, Bigelow, whom the press courteously addressed as Captain, held a two-hour press conference, attended by 15 newsmen of the Los Angeles papers and national wire serivces. On Saturday, more reporters and a score of photographers, one representing a French syndicate, showed up. Sunday, more photographers in the morning, and in the afternoon a prayer meeting inside the San Pedro Boat Works, attended by about 500, including movie and TV stars Don Murray, Olga Lang and John Raith. The meeting was covered by press cameramen and TV newsreelmen.

Monday morning the press photo corps was out in full force. Every TV network and every Los Angeles paper, as well as a host of magazine and free-lance cameramen, swarmed over the docks.

PRAISES HELP: In his conversations with the press, Bigelow stressed the serious and dedicated nature of the voyage and praised the aid he had received locally.

"The support from the people of Southern California has been most generous and widespread," he said. "People have given us food, equipment of all kinds, and letters. Hundreds of small contributions of all kinds are pouring into Philadelphia." (The voyage is sponsored by the Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons committee, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.).

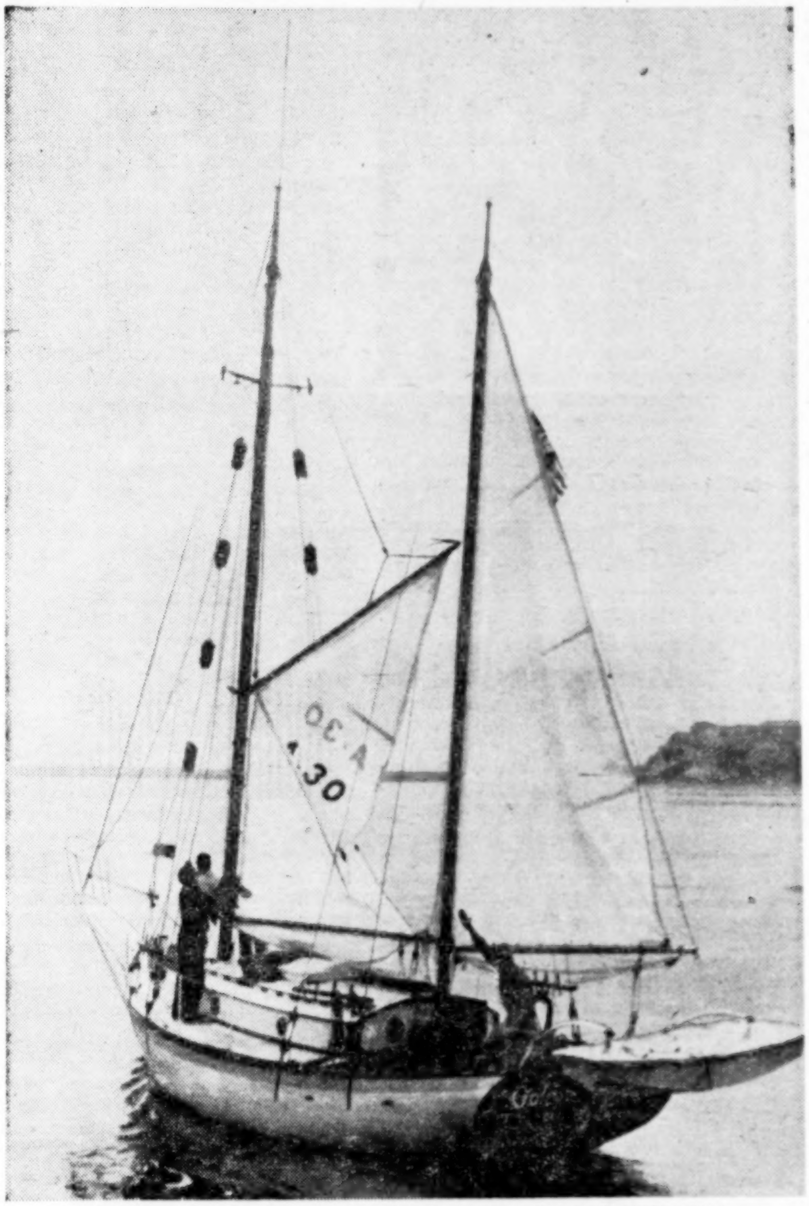
Bigelow had special praise for two non-Quakers and non-pacificists: Captain Kidder, an old mariner, and Charley Davies, both of nearby Newport.

"Capt. Kidder came up to San Pedro to help us," Bigelow declared. "He compensated our compass, presented us with a sextant, and gave us a small radio to get time signals."

Davies, a co-designer of the "Golden Rule," worked long hours, without payment, to get the craft ready in time. Asked if he had ever spoken out against H-bomb tests, Davies said:

"No, I never thought too much about it before. I still don't know. But I like Capt. Bigelow an awful lot."

All the workmen and supervisors in the San Pedro Boat Works, which owns Berth 44, were friendly toward the crew. "They didn't make believers out of all of us," said a shipwright, "but they won everyone's respect. They've got decent convictions."



"THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE WITH OUR RESOLUTION"
The Golden Rule quits San Pedro for its 4,000-mile journey

A GOOD CRAFT: The boat-wise Davies explained that the "Golden Rule" is a smaller model of the famous "Sea Witch," winner of the San Francisco-Honolulu race several years ago. "I made six trips on boats like this to Honolulu," Davies said.

Built in Costa Rica, "because labor is cheaper there," the "Golden Rule" is 30 feet long with an 11-foot beam and draws about 5 feet of water. She is painted blue and white. The two low cabins sleep four. She can carry 500 square feet of sail and is equipped with a 24-hp. auxiliary engine with enough fuel to travel 450 miles without sail. A high seas radio will maintain contact with KMI, the telephone company's high seas broadcasting station in San Francisco.

Davies thinks that it will take the "Golden Rule" only 17 or 18 days to reach Honolulu, where more stores will be taken on before continuing to Eniwetok waters. Bigelow believes the Honolulu leg will require three to four weeks, and the same time to reach Eniwetok from Hawaii.

NO PRECAUTIONS: The "Golden Rule" has a Geiger counter along to test sea water for contamination, but no precautions for safety in Eniwetok waters have been taken. "Maybe we ought to ask the government what to do," suggested Bigelow.

If the "Golden Rule" is forced out of the test area, she will return, said Bigelow. "But if they try to seize the vessel, we won't resist."

A favorite talking point among shipyard workers, yachtsmen, merchant seamen and reporters was what the U.S. government would do with the "Golden Rule" in its test waters.

Two veteran reporters thought—"very privately"—that "a little tricky tampering by undetected parties will do the trick of stopping them." But almost everyone else, including Charley Davies, felt that the government would hitch a line to the ketch and tow it out of the test waters.

"Maybe they will," replied Bigelow, "but how can they talk about freedom of the high seas if they do?"

Despite the avalanche of press and TV coverage, Bigelow repeatedly said: "Publicity is not the point. Feeling the way we do, the thing is to do something about it."

PRAYER MEETING: To reporters, Bigelow talked in Biblical, Quaker and Gandhian phrases to drive home his convictions, although some reporters seemed confused by such language. To a perplexed columnist of the Los Angeles **Times**, Bigelow emphasized: "We hope to speak to the condition of man, and, in the words of the 300-year-old phrase of George Fox, to speak to every heart."

At the Sunday afternoon prayer meeting, each of the crew spoke. William Huntington told of receiving from a good friend photos of the friend's grandchildren for the "Golden Rule's" cabin wall. "I send them along," the friend had written, "because you are sailing for them."

The last week before sailing had been a trying one, with a hundred tasks to be accomplished. The last three days were particularly hard. Not until 3:30 a.m. Monday was the radio secured and operative.

All that Monday forenoon the dock filled with well-wishers and cameramen. One of the sympathizers, an investment broker, brought a big carton of fruit and avocados. The day before, actors Don Murray and John Raith had delivered their contributions of food.

"After Eniwetok, what then?" asked the reporters Monday morning.

"Perhaps to Japan," Bigelow replied. "We have good friends there." And he told of the two Hiroshima maidens who had stayed at his home while undergoing facial surgery.

DEPARTURE: Captain Bigelow had stated his intended departure to be noon, but he added with a grin, "which will mean about 2 p.m." A few minutes before noon the crew was called for a final press conference. Each man told the TV mike why he had volunteered. Then, as everyone on the dock settled back to relax for a while, the engine was started up, the lines released, and the "Golden Rule" had slipped out of her berth and was in the channel.

Four small vessels followed the "Golden Rule" out of the channel, past the two-mile-long breakwater and the lighthouse, into the Pacific. Ahead of the "Golden Rule" a Japanese freighter passed, plowing a sea lane for the ketch.

Beyond the breakwater the last boat, filled with a few friends and half a dozen cameramen, halted and stood by until the "Golden Rule" was a toy sail of gold on the limitless sea.

The great voyage had begun.

'Faith will sustain us in the hour of danger and even of doubt . . . '

AT A SUNDAY PRAYER MEETING in San Pedro prior to the sailing of the "Golden Rule," all four members of the crew spoke. The tone of the meeting was set by Rev. Stuart Innerst, probably the best known of the Quakers in California. He said: "We are assembled here to witness an act of moral man against immoral government. What we are doing here has been done over and over again throughout history. Our precedents go far back, as far as to the Hebrew prophets, to Jesus and to the very foundation of this country by men who protested immoral government actions . . . We do not believe that conflicts can be solved by might. They can only be solved by the spirit of love."

Excerpts from the talks of the crew members follow:

ALBERT BIGELOW: "Ours is a religious motivation. We are not doing this alone. There are many with us. We are merely instruments. Our faith is much like Gandhi's. That faith will sustain us in the hour of danger and even of doubt . . ."

WILLIAM HUNTINGTON: "We are concerned with life. Life does not belong to us. We have received it from the past and we pass it on to the future. We are living at a time when irresponsible preparations for armed conflict are threatening our lives and those of children yet unborn. There can be no compromise with our resolution to stop this trend . . ."

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY: "Ours is a voyage of faith . . . As an American citizen, much as I love my country, I cannot in good conscience support its present policy. As a Quaker I must act and act now. I cannot remain silent . . . Gandhi once said: 'Faith does not permit of telling. It must be lived. Then only will faith be propagated.'"

FCC scandal

(Continued from Page 1)

the nickname of "The Arkansas Traveler." Harris, with his connection with RCA and NBC, at once took over the running of the subcommittee which was supposed to investigate, among other things, the growing monopoly of RCA and NBC.

HONEST PROF: Harris picked the subcommittee members, most of whom were distinguished largely by their enthusiasm for Harris' natural gas bill lifting almost completely the already slim Federal controls over gas rates. He chose for chairman Morgan Moulder (D-Mo.). In August the committee called in Dr. Bernard Schwartz, 34, an authority on constitutional law, and a professor at New York University Law School. When Presidential counsel Gerald Morgan sounded out the dean of the N.Y.U. law school on Schwartz' political background, he found nothing to indicate that the professor would not play the game gracefully.

In no time at all it became clear that the professor was earnest, honest and shocked at what he found. He brought his own staff with him and, as he was later to report, they turned out to be the only ones he could trust. Very soon he was sending one of his trusted friends out to the outer office every time a call came in to be sure that one of Harris' men was not listening in on an open wire.

He found only two friends on the subcommittee: Moulder and John E. Moss (D-Calif.). As the going got rough, Moulder came to call Schwartz "one of the most courageous men I ever knew." At public hearings Schwartz was heckled constantly by committee members. Subpenas he issued for FCC commissioners in Florida went unsigned. Attempts to dispatch investigators to look into what seemed a mess in Boston were frustrated.

THE BOMB-SHELL: Sensing that his findings would be buried by the committee, the embattled professor leaked parts of them to columnists and on Jan. 23 the N.Y. **Times** ran substantial excerpts from a secret memorandum prepared by Schwartz and his staff.

This charged Commissioners with being wined and dined, flown about the country and paid handsome "honorariums" by interests then in litigation with FCC. It said commissioners had received gifts of color television sets and their wives' expenses were lavishly paid at TV industry gatherings.

DR. BERNARD SCHWARTZ
Honesty is foolish, they say

The memorandum proposed to investigate specific FCC decisions which ran completely counter to recommendations by FCC investigators themselves in order to favor companies whose representatives chummed with commissioners. Above all it charged that the FCC tended to favor the alarming growth of the RCA-NBC monopoly in broadcasting and manufacturing of equipment.

'I ACCUSE . . .': In a stormy meeting on Feb. 10 the subcommittee voted 7-4 to dismiss its counsel on a flimsy expense-padding charge. Then Moulder, admitting that he could no longer function with any authority, resigned his chairmanship and Harris took over the chair, making official a control he had already exercised.

His first act as chairman was to subpena Schwartz and grill him. There were midnight scurryings as Harris posted Capitol guards at Schwartz' office and Schwartz, in the company of several reporters, tore around Washington in a taxicab full of files that were highly explosive. These ended up finally at the home of Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) who returned them to the subcommittee the following day, but not until he had seen enough to urge a Senate probe of the commissions.

Next day Schwartz issued a bitter statement opening with " 'What is truth?' said jesting Pilate and would not stop for answer." The subcommittee, he said, similarly shunned all answers. He said: "I accuse the majority of this subcommittee, in order to further their own partisan interests, of joining an unholy alliance between big business and the White House to obtain a whitewash."

WHITE HOUSE LINK? In that statement and later ones made in the course of his grilling by the subcommittee, Schwartz said: A tape recorded conversation with FCC Commissioner Richard A. Mack shows he received $2,650 from a Miami attorney for a subsidiary of Natl. Airlines which wanted and got a Miami TV channel; that former N.Y. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey used his influence in connection with an Eastern Airlines petition to the Civil Aeronautics Board; that a "White House clique" was involved in "machinations" to control the commissions' decisions.

Schwartz named the "clique" as Presidential Asst. Sherman Adams, Presidential counsel Gerald Morgan, Col. Gordon Moore (Mrs. Eisenhower's brother-in-law), Secy. of Commerce Sinclair Weeks and Dewey. He said his investigators were prevented from probing into the connection between Secy. Weeks and Pan-American Airways and that Dewey had refused to turn over relevant correspondence between himself and Eastern Air Lines.

Schwartz concluded by predicting that "safe" lawyers would soon be hired to write a "safe" report. "This must not be allowed to happen. The vested interests, these regulatory agencies, the White House clique—all those who think that they may now breathe a sigh of relief must soon be made aware that this is but the beginning."

WHITEWASH NEXT? Commissioner Mack was small enough and sufficiently incriminated to be tossed to the wolves and last week the FBI announced it would enter the case. But Harris promised that the hottest hearings henceforth would be behind closed doors. The move to hush up this particular scandal had bi-partisan support.

A whitewash of the Eisenhower administration had been reportedly promised to the Republicans in exchange for their support of the natural gas bill which would cost gas consumers about $1,000,000,000 and give a few large gas producers about $30,000,000,000 in "windfall" profits. (Texas Republicans last week enthusiastically hailed House Minority Leader Joseph W .Martin (R. Mass.) for piloting the gas bill so successfully and precipitated a new scandal.)

Another reason for restraining the investigation is that so many Congressmen are involved in TV stations; among them: Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), and Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.). Columnist Roscoe Drummond in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** wrote last week that "the Congressmen who didn't want to investigate (very much or very vigorously) were afraid that they would have to end up investigating themselves and other Congressmen."

A bigger reason than any of these is that the NYU professor was getting very close to exposing the political hired hands of some of the nation's most powerful monopolies, including RCA and Pan-American. These have worked efficiently in Washington under Democrats as well as Republicans. Cynics who saw in Dr. Schwartz a Mr. Deeds newly come to Washington, agreed with columnist Stewart Alsop that he was a "foolish man with a high intelligence quotient."

Non-cynics were hopeful that he might set a new vogue: honesty in government.

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East-West meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

the first step, "what would be left for a second, third, or fourth step agreement? . . . And would we be ready to reciprocate if the Soviet Union were to surprise us by accepting the proposal?"

The first item on a meaningful agenda would seem to be, as Humphrey noted and the world agreed, the banning of nuclear weapons tests. The second and third, a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and an arms embargo to the Middle East.

NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE: In reply to questions and objections by the West regarding its proposals for a nuclear-free zone, Poland on Feb. 14 presented to the ambassadors of NATO member countries a memorandum detailing the steps necessary to establishing such a zone.

Warsaw said it hoped its memorandum would become a draft working paper for making East and West Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia a nuclear-free zone under effective inspection and control by land and air. To get around West German Chancellor Adenauer's opposition to negotiate with East Germany, the document suggested that the zone be established by the four powers occupying Germany after World War II: U. S., U.S.S.R., Britain and France. Other NATO powers would be expected unilaterally to adhere to the zone.

MID-EAST MERGERS: The Iraq-Jordan treaty, which on Feb. 14 united the two feudal kingdoms as a "counter-weight" to the Egypt-Syria merger, would seem to be an added reason for an arms embargo to the Middle East.

Its "counter-weight" effect was weakened by the fact that it was precipitated by the Egypt-Syria merger, and by President Nasser's message of congratulations to Iraq's King Faisal, who became the titular head of the union while Hussein retained his throne in Jordan. Although the treaty allowed Iraq to remain in the Baghdad Pact, the union obviously further weakened the pact: it added to the popular Iraqi opposition to the pact the voice of the more articulate Jordanians. The N.Y. **Times** said (2/16):

"How one half of a country that is supposed to have a common economy, army and foreign policy could remain committed to a treaty [Baghdad Pact] while the other half was not stumped most students of international affairs."

THE TWO KINGS: The Iraq-Jordan union—by bringing in the politically sophisticated Palestinian Arabs, who form the majority of the Jordanian population—may also increase the popular demand for the elimination of the two feudal kings. Such a move could prompt Faisal and Hussein to try to divert popular discontent towards an anti-Israeli campaign.

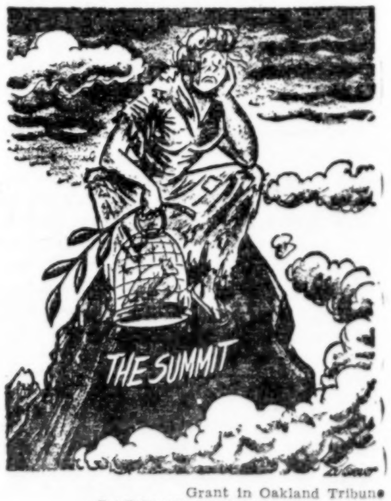
It seemed significant that Hussein, in a broadcast celebrating the union, pledged to fight for Arab "rights" in Israel; President Nasser made no reference to Israel in connection with the Egypt-Syria merger. The danger in the continuing flow of arms to the Middle East in such a situation is obvious.

THE PARTICIPANTS: On the question of who should attend a summit conference, former Presidential disarmament advisor Harold Stassen, who resigned his post on Feb. 15 to run for the GOP nomination for governor of Pennsylvania, suggested the Big Four plus Poland and Czechoslovakia. This would maintain an East-West balance, and might reduce Dulles' influence.

A summit meeting seemed to be in the cards, but it still remained uncertain how fruitful it would be. Even without the foreign ministers' conference, Dulles would still be advising the President who considers him "the wisest man" he has ever known.

Stassen has been eased out, the Disarmament office allocation reduced by a third and its staff of 40 cut in half. The AFL-CIO Executive Committee has endorsed a summit meeting but has insisted on guaranteed "free elections in Soviet-controlled countries and reunification of Germany" as preconditions.

Yet, as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Llewellyn Thompson told the White House, "with a little thawing of the cold war atmosphere [East-West] negotiations might be fruitful." Certainly such a meeting would in any case begin the long-overdue thawing process.



Grant in Oakland Tribune
LADY IN WAITING

How close are we?

IT IS NOT probable that war will ever absolutely cease until science discovers some destroying force so simple in its administration, so horrible in its effects, that all art, all gallantry, will be at an end, and battles will be massacres which the feelings of mankind will be unable to endure.

— W. Winwood Reade: **The Martyrdom of Man (1872).**

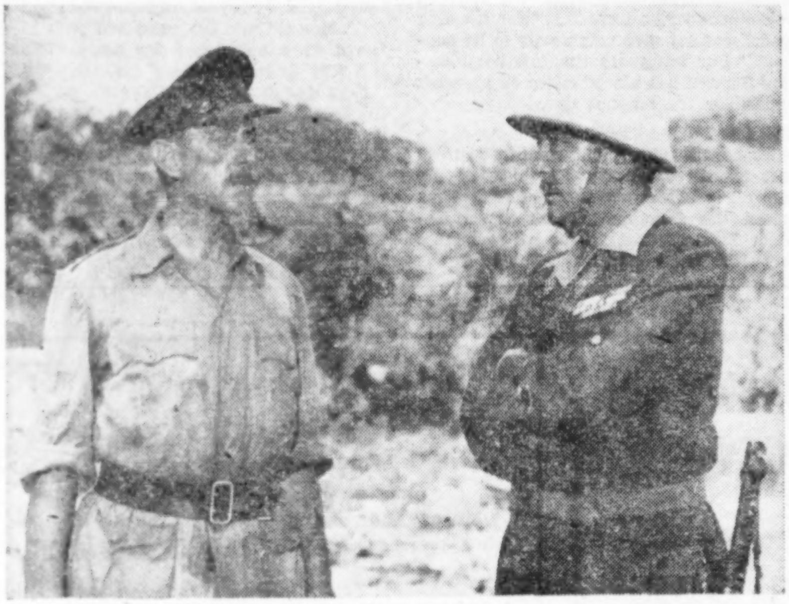
NEW FILMS POINT TO WAR'S INSANITY

Two bridges that lead to peace

FOR A LONG TIME people have been saying that war is hell but hell is apparently not sufficiently unattractive to rob the military of its glamor. In **The Bridge On The River Kwai,** currently in a first-run showing at New York's Palace, war is described as not only cruel but absurd, the military virtues as ridiculous. Alec Guinness' portrayal of a British colonel must forever make Clive of India look like a complete jackass.

Guinness' colonel is an Army type who has spent 28 years in the Indian service. In 1943 he is ordered to surrender his battalion to the Japanese in Ceylon. Gallantly he leads his ragged men, whistling a merry marching tune, into a Japanese jungle work camp.

Guinness plays the game of war by the rules. Politely but firmly he refuses to allow his officers to do manual work alongside the men, citing the Geneva convention which forbids it. His opposite number, a Samurai to his sword hilt, played by Sessue Hayakawa, thereupon wallops Guinness in the teeth and tosses him into a tin-roofed sweat-box—all according to his own version of the military code which says that an officer who has surrendered has lost caste.



BRASS IS THICKER THAN WATER IN "BRIDGE ON RIVER KWAI"
Alec Guinness and Sessue Hayakawa share the madness of the military mind

IN THE EARLY PARTS of the film the British stiff-upper-lip and Samurai pride seem at odds. Both are caricatured to the point of satire. Subtly they are drawn together as if rank made them kin and in the end they collaborate on the military engineering problem of building a bridge over the River Kwai—which proves, perhaps, that brass is thicker than water.

The French writer, Pierre Boule, who wrote the novel on which the movie is based, ended it by showing that the military mind has neither patriotism nor sense, that it is concerned with an immediate objective but never an ultimate principle. In the book the British colonel is so engrossed in his project of the Japanese bridge that when a band of British commandos comes close to destroying it he betrays them. For him victory lies in the intrepid achievement of British soldiers building an excellent bridge against great odds. He commits the treason of the technician in love with war as a life's work.

The movie softens the end. At the last second the colonel, mortally wounded, cries: "What have I done?" Then he falls on the plunger that blows up the bridge at the precise moment that a Japanese train loaded with troops and VIP's is crossing it. It spares the military mind the bitter condemnation of successful treason. As the train and bridge spectacularly plunge into the river the sound of troops cheerily whistling a marching tune ironically ends the movie.

A FAR MORE MODEST FILM in old-fashioned black-and-white, using the world pretty much as it is found, without dyeing any rivers green and employing Thailand's leading screen ladies as jungle bearers, makes its anti-war point more effectively. It is called **The Last Bridge** and deals with the war of Yugoslav guerrillas against the Nazis. This Austrian film, made in Yugoslavia, is not an anti-Nazi film, it is anti-war. A German woman doctor, glowingly portrayed by Maria Schell, knows that she is not on any side of war so much as she is on the side of people everywhere. Like all such tender things in wartime she dies in a cross-fire.

These two movies of war, viewed from different bridges, are companion films in a sense. **The Bridge On The River Kwai** shows that military stupidity crosses all national borders; **The Last Bridge** shows that the goodness of humanity does likewise.

The Last Bridge will probably win no American prizes (it did in Europe) but **The Bridge On The River Kwai** is already a candidate for an Oscar. It may win for the glories of its technical achievements and the lavish photography which drips dollars like leaves. (It took 3,000,000 of them—dollars, not leaves—to make the film.)

It should rate an award for its theme and its script but there is a difficulty. It carries no credits for a script writer but it is rumored that the unlisted writers responsible are Michael Wilson and Carl Forman, both blacklisted, under-the-table craftsmen who in recent years have been embarrassing the awards judges by anonymously producing winners.

E.B.

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BOOKS

Maltz' searching tale of U. S. prison life

THEORETICALLY, any democratic country's prison system is aimed to discourage crime and turn bad citizens into good. American prisons from their savage worst to their best are as ineffectual as any. But it has never been demonstrated anywhere that enclosure behind bars, and submission by force to a mechanical routine, can produce mental and physical health in human beings any more than in the lower animals.

The effect of such prisons, no matter how clean and filled with piped-in melody, is to accentuate the stresses, paradoxes and hypocrisies with which the inmates have come in unsuccessful conflict on the outside. They can sometimes be a stimulant to any latent sense of comradeship and mutual dependence an inmate may possess on entering. On the other hand they can stimulate all that is weakest, most selfish and anti-social in characters already wrecked by false standards.

THIS MOST STRIKING aspect of prison life is ignored in the blood-and-thunder prison writing poured out by Hollywood and the drugstore novelists. A true novel of U. S. prison life has to be written with deep social understanding. When Albert Maltz was caged nine months for defending the Constitution, literary justice at least was done: the material got the author it deserved.*

With brilliant success, Maltz has used the prison microcosm for a study of race relations in mass America. The group loyalty which jail existence most potently evokes is between those inmates who must suffer everything twice, first as humans and then as Negroes. But sharing a common enemy as they do, all the inmates—white and black, "genuine" criminals and innocent hostages of fate—are challenged to meet the test of a broader loyalty and to re-evaluate prejudices brought from the street.

Their responses to this test are compressed in a single day, in an inter-action between individuals of almost every workaday type who have lost a skirmish with The Law. Each one strives to put together the pieces of life that he knows into some philosophical pattern whereby he can survive. The task is doubly hard because America has given them so many ideas about life which are phony, so little that is true.

Illustrierte, Munich

IT IS TOO MUCH for the homicide Varney, who only wanted a good time after a wretched childhood, sought it with a married woman and became a killer when the husband attacked him. He has searched all his life for "something I can't find;" and in prison, stewing himself in self-pity, he has even less chance of discovering what it is, let alone where.

Varney kills himself with never a glimpse of why society gives life on a gold platter to some but not to him; only a dank echo answers the question with which he has tortured himself, "Why did it have to happen to **me?**" But for others, comparing notes as to how they got inside, a little light begins to dawn on the nature of the enemy.

Most dramatic of the struggles within these caged souls is that of the elderly Southern trade unionist McPeak, who is in jail only because he rescued a young Negro from murder by racist thugs. Freedom can be his in return for simply keeping quiet to hang a phony charge on the Negro.

He is no hero, but he is haunted by the lesson of class solidarity which he learned in the bloody wars against the bosses and their goons in Detroit. Now he strives to drown his class conscience; but prison relationships make the realities of the struggle too sharply evident to allow his self-interest to triumph.

MALTZ' PICTURE is as grim and as compassionate as it should be. The counts of bodies cutting up each day into exact slices, the total denial of privacy which only accentuates loneliness; the scrubbings and sweepings to keep the living tomb shinily "American," the threat of the Hole if guards are not meekly appeased; the mocking lilt of jazz mingling with the caged ones' endless barterings and speculations about "my case" and "my first meal on the outside."

And on the other hand such small wonders as the impact of books, forced by boredom upon men who never picked one up before; and the new impulse of sharing what there is to share, which few ever acquired "in the dog-eat-dog freedom of the street."

In many countries a jail term is not necessary to become an important national figure but it helps mightily. The day will surely come in the U.S. when a man like Albert Maltz will have the respect of his fellow-citizens not in spite but because of his prison sentence and what he created from it. Meanwhile progressives who feel uneasy because they were never "inside" can derive rich if vicarious benefit from Maltz' distillation of the experience.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

******A LONG DAY IN A SHORT LIFE*, *by Albert Maltz, International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16, N. Y. 350 pp. $3.75.*

How many did Pearson have when he stirred this one?

PARTY BOSS Khrushchev was four sheets to the wind at the Indian reception when he compared a summit conference to a Russian dinner. This time he had only eight martinis in 30 minutes.

Drew Pearson's Merry-Go-Round,
Palm Beach **Post**, Feb. 7

•

NOTHING ABOUT [Khrushchev] has been more exaggerated in drawings and in articles than his drinking . . . This happened recently when the Indian Ambassador held a reception to celebrate his country's independence. Nothing stronger than fruit juice or mineral water was on the tables . . .

William J. Jorden from Moscow,
N. Y. Times, Feb. 10

HE WON'T PAY TAXES FOR WAR

Ouster of Cincinnati minister sought

REV. MAURICE McCRACKIN is a Presbyterian minister who is pastor of the West Cincinnati St. Barnabas Church, out near Crossley Field where the Cincinnati Redlegs play baseball. Tall, bespectacled, pleasant-mannered, the 52-year-old minister is devoted to social work and has for many years been head of Neighborhood House, an agency of the Community Chest of Cincinnati. A fellow minister once said of Rev. McCrackin's relationship with his congregation: "The warmth of Christian fellowship wells up out of their midst."

Rev. McCrackin is also devoted to the cause of peace and brotherhood and, out of this devotion, he has refused to file an income tax return for the last ten years because he feels that "war is wrong and I cannot give voluntarily to its support." For ten years the Internal Revenue Service has placed a lien on his bank funds for the amount due.

DELICATE MATTER: This state of affairs continued without commotion until last month when the 24 elders of the Knox Presbyterian Church of Hyde Park asked the Cincinnati Presbytery to replace Rev. McCrackin for his refusal to pay his taxes and to withhold funds from St. Barnabas. They wrote: "His views are not for the best interest of the church." With their letter they sent an article by Rev. McCrackin which had appeared in the **Peacemaker** magazine. Its title: "Guns and Bombs—I Do Not Want to Buy Them."

The area Presbyterian Moderator, Rev. C. T. Howell, said the issue had been referred to a committee for study. "This is a very delicate matter," he said.

Next day the Amercan Legion got into the act. It demanded that the Community Chest fire Rev. McCrackin out of Neighborhood House on the tax issue, and also because he had attended a Labor Day seminar on racial integration at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. The Chest said it was making a full investigation of the "very serious allegations."

RIGHT OF CONSCIENCE: To all this Rev. McCrackin replied: "I believe in the right of the individual to follow his conscience. My conscience tells me that war is wrong. I do not believe it is anyone's province to stand in judgment of another's conscientious convictions."

In a letter to the Cincinnati **Post,** Rev. Robert J. Gillespie, a fellow Presbyterian minister, wrote: "On what basis can [the elders'] charge be made? Have these men ever been inside the doors of his church and worshipped with its people? Have these men given any real consideration to the dedicated, tireless work of this man of God?"

A group calling itself the Committee for Freedom of Conscience has been organized to defend Rev. McCrackin.

NEW YORK

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CALENDAR

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Jewish Peoples Forum
Sunday, March 2, 8 P.M.
PAUL M. SWEEZY
Teacher, economist, editor "Monthly Review" "Is The Present Recession Serious?" Hotel Bradford, Boston. Silver collection.

Chicago

Hear **JOSEPH STAROBIN**
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Thurs. Feb 27 8 p.m.
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Music Room, 410 S. Michigan
Auspices: E. V. Debs Forum.

EUGENE FELDMAN
Editor, "Southern Newsletter," speaks on **A Southerner Speaks for Civil Rights**
Fri., Feb. 28 8:15 p.m.
Militant Labor Forum, 777 N. Adams.

To those who are interested in the future course of North American History! Hear **HOWARD SCOTT**, founder and Continental Director of Technocracy, Inc., speak on Sat., March 8, at 8 p.m., in the Chicago Room of the La Salle Hotel. The subject will be "Design, Direction or Disaster," — Technocracy's analysis of America's future. Question period following the lecture.

CORLISS LAMONT, "Travel, Peace and American-Soviet Understanding." Sun., March 2, 7 p.m. Crystal Room (3d floor), Palmer House, State & Monroe. Ausp: Mandel Terman. Adm. 90c.

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April 4—SHAKESPEARE AND THE IDEA OF JUSTICE—"The Merchant of Venice" and "Measure for Measure"
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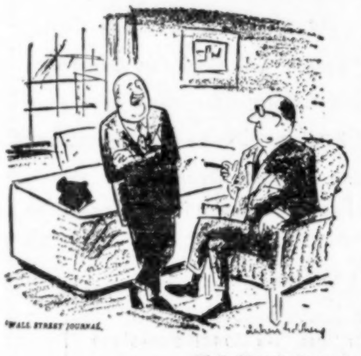
THE GALLERY

AS IF TO PROVE that the logical consequences of the State Dept.'s total war policy is total lunacy, the department's personnel section circulated a memorandum last month on the subject: What To Do After An Atomic Attack. The procedure for government employes: First, go to the nearest Post Office and fill out a registration form and send it to the Civil Service Commission. The Commission will inform the State Dept. at its "emergency location" of your whereabouts. In turn, you will be notified by mail when and where to report for work. The importance of the registration card, the memo emphasizes, is that it will "enable the department to keep you on the roster of active employes and enable it to forward your pay."

A "quiet hilarity" is reported among department employes on reading: "You should obtain and complete the registration cards as soon after enemy attack as possible but not until you are reasonably sure where you will be staying for a few days. If you change your address after you have sent in a card, get a new one and send it in." The signer of the memo is Robert Newbegin, Deputy Asst. Secy. for personnel.

NEW YORK CITY COMPTROLLER Lawrence E. Gerosa is generally a mild and genial man who rarely gets his name in the papers. But all in two weeks he kicked up a fuss in the Board of Estimate, embarrassed the mayor and threatened a reporter. It all started on the night of Jan. 31 when Gerosa's chauffeur smashed up his city-owned 1954 Cadillac eight-passenger, eight-cylinder sedan. The Comptroller was not unduly upset at the loss because the car was a "rattletrap that had no phone or anything except a siren" and, anyway, $5,800 had been appropriated in the budget for a new car.



Wall Street Journal
"Nobody ever considers us. After all we too are a minority group."

A week later Mayor Wagner in discussing the city's traffic problem innocently started the fuss when he called on auto manufacturers to build smaller cars because the large new cars eat up parking space.

The pot boiled over on Feb. 11 when Gerosa asked for an additional appropriation to buy a $6,392.63 1958 Cadillac. When questioned by a reporter on how he could square his request with the mayor's call for small cars, Gerosa answered, "That has nothing to do with me." Pushed further by the reporter he fumed, "Now look. Put this in your pipe and smoke it. The eight officials of the Board of Estimate—the Mayor, the Council President, the Comptroller and the Borough Presidents all have Cadillacs." At this point Walter Holmes, Asst. to the Comptroller for Public Relations, stepped in and explained to the reporter, "The Comptroller has always had a Cadillac. He likes Cadillacs and he wants a Cadillac." Gerosa got his Cadillac. Clinching argument seemed to be that "he holds conferences in his car."

A MAJOR PROPAGANDA BLOW for the West may have been struck by the statement: "The thing we all like about this country is that under a democracy a man can have more dignity in overalls than he can in a dictatorship in white tie and tails." The renowned author of the declaration is radio's own "Ma Perkins" in a CBS press release. Points for the other side were scored by 12,000 members of the Doukhobor sect who are leaving Canada to go to the U.S.S.R. They originally left Russia to escape persecution from Peter the Great and are returning under agreement with the Soviet government after numerous scrapes in Canada. Under their code, the sect does not send its children to school, practices nudism and exchanges wives.

IN WASHINGTON, D.C., potential scientists were given a setback in their education by a blue-nose principal. The Student Council at Roosevelt High School showed a film for students to raise funds for school athletic equipment. The movie was a Hollywood production about Attila the Hun called **Sign of the Pagan.** The auditorium was crowded and students seemed to be enjoying the history lesson when Principal Elva C. Wells called a halt in the middle of the second reel. She thought that actress Rita Gam in a pagan costume was teaching too much to the audience. Student protests that the film was on the approved list for showing in school were brushed aside. It may not have been a total loss for education because one senior reported: "Everyone has seen the picture in the neighborhood theaters anyway."

CBS RADIO PROGRAM, "ANSWER, PLEASE," gets a lot of mail from young people. One teenage girl wrote, "I want to know how to walk like Jayne Mansfield." Another 13-year-old asked, "Why is teenage a dangerous age?" No satisfactory answers were given . . . Superintendent of School John Gorton in Billings, Okla., wanted to end tardiness in the local high school. He said that students who came to school after the bell rang would have to sweep the halls. If all were prompt, he would man the broom. So far students have a perfect record; Gorton has been on the broom every day since school started.

—Robert E. Light

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East, West meet—on TV

A JOINT ANGLO-RUSSIAN TV experiment brought the dove of peace into millions of homes in both the cold-war camps last month. In a one-hour film, **U.S.S.R. Now,** British "commercial" TV (operating as a rival to the government's BBC) showed life behind the "Curtain" whose reality it disproved. At the same time Soviet televiewers were seeing a similar film of life in Britain.

Each film was made by a team from the other country under a no-censorship, go-where-you-like agreement. Two evenings later, televiewers in both countries were shown themselves as the other side saw them.

U.S.S.R. Now showed many contrasts in Soviet life today: women toting well-water to cottages topped by TV aerials, mud huts and modern apartments facing on one street, new cities springing out of Siberian wastelands. Covering rural more than city life, the film showed little of Moscow and nothing of the most beautiful Soviet city, Leningrad.

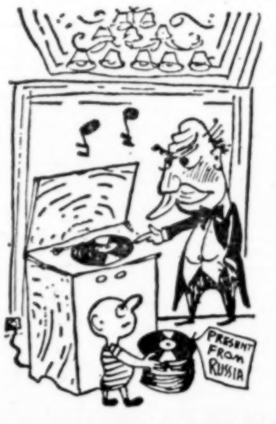
It depicted Soviet people as well but unattractively dressed and very well fed; one banquet at which film director Michael Ingrams and his company were entertained was said to have lasted 12 hours. Children everywhere looked plump and happy in the film, which stressed the universally high standards of Soviet schools and educational policy. Ingrams commented that he never saw a miserable or uncared-for child.

THE SOVIET FILM, **Meetings in Britain,** introduced with scenes of author James Aldridge fishing in the Black Sea, brought viewers to Britain as if they were tourists in the Leningrad-London ship **Baltyka.** First inspecting the Houses of Parliament and the Queen in her palace, they were wafted to picture galleries and, via scenes evoking memories of Marx, Lenin and Dickens, to London's factories, offices, markets and restaurants.

In a sequence showing shops filled with fine wares the commentator remarked: "There is no shortage of merchandise—what shopkeepers want are more customers"—then a flash of bargain hunters milling at a "sale." British workers were shown arguing over their ale in a pub about the football pools, British actors demonstrating in the streets about the destruction of a west-end theatre.

After a look at old and new British housing, Shakespeare was evoked with scenes at Stratford-on-Avon, Darwin and Newton with Cambridge scenes, Burns with scenes in Scotland, Bernard Shaw with shots of his home.

In Stratford the Soviet poet Marshak was shown listening to Shakespeare recitations; in that city's "festival," with a Scot schoolteacher commenting in Russian. Among many other aspects of British life covered were Welsh coal mining and choirs and workers' art; chamber music concerts and pleasure-boating on the coasts; a luxury "socialist collective" colony, farms, London after dark including night clubs and ballet and Chaplin's new film, and homes of the aristocracy and of ordinary folk.



Drawing by Dyad, London
I might have known it—propaganda by Tchaikovsky."

THE TWO TV SHOWS had all Britain arguing as to which of the film teams gave the best and most objective picture of life on "the other side." At the week-end it looked like a draw.

A London televiewer, familiar with the U.S.S.R., commented that each side would probably be jealous of some aspects of the other's life. She thought the Soviet film of Britain better, however, because it covered more ground briefly, while **U.S.S.R. Now** dwelt too long on less colorful aspects of Soviet life.

London's **Daily Mirror** spoke for many in seeing **Meetings in Britain** as "a prosperous contrast to some of the drab sequences seen in **U.S.S.R. Now,"** which it had already described as "the most important documentary since the start of television in this country." The **Mirror** critic found some "subtle propaganda" in the shots relating to Marx, Lenin and Shaw, but "all in all I found the Russian treatment fair and I admire the Soviet film men for permitting Britain to appear a much rosier place" than most of the U.S.S.R. as shown.

Other televiewers complained that, while in all **Meetings in Britain** nobody was shown having more than a cup of tea, in **U.S.S.R. Now** everyone seemed to be "eating like a horse, non-stop." Soviet officials in London said they considered **U.S.S.R. Now** better than their own effort, and they would do better next time.

—**Cedric Belfrage**

Ruthenberg's life topic of March 2 N.Y. forum

THE LIFE and times of Charles E. Ruthenberg, one of the founders of the American Communist Party, will be discussed at the Sunday Evening Forum at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., on Sunday, March 2, at 8:30 p.m., on the 31st anniversary of Ruthenberg's death.

Guest speaker will be Oakley Johnson, author of the just-published, **The Day Is Coming,** the first authoritiative biography of Ruthenberg. Admission is $1.